

California Historical Society Quarterly

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MOUNT WHITNEY, 14,501 FEET

The highest point in the United States. This view from Mount Brewer is the one obtained by the Whitney Survey party in 1864 when they named the mountain for Josiah Dwight Whitney.

Photograph by Ansel F. Hall.

California Historical Society Quarterly

EXPLORATION OF THE SIERRA NEVADA

The purpose of this narrative is to trace the course of the exploration of the Sierra Nevada of California from the time when it first became known to white men to the present day. The record is full of vivid personalities and of epic adventures, but these may only be briefly recounted here and much that is interesting must be omitted as belonging more properly to other phases of history than that of exploration. Exploration is held to mean more, however, than a search for mere geographical knowledge, and the record is distinguished by splendid achievements in scientific research.

Completeness can hardly be attained even by confining attention to the field of exploration and there are doubtless many explorers whose names should be included here but are omitted either because they are not on record or because the record has not come to my attention. If such there be, they are welcome to the fold and I will endeavor to do them justice at another time.

In writing of the Sierra it is always a temptation to one who knows the mountains to indulge in praise of their grandeur and beauty. The forests, alpine meadows, lakes, streams, waterfalls, birds, animals, flowers, granite domes and spires, fields of perpetual snow—all these are ever in the thoughts of those who have been there. For them no other setting is needed; and for those who have not been there, a search among the references cited will reveal much.

Sierra Nevada

The earliest approaches to California were from the sea; consequently the regions along the coast were the first to become known to the civilized world and to receive names. In 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, while off the peninsula of San Francisco on November 18, beheld the Santa Cruz Mountains covered with snow and named them Sierras Nevadas.¹ On a map of 1564 by Ortelius the name Sierra Nevada appears near the coast but farther north, due to an error in

¹ Bolton: Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1916, quoted in Chapman's History of California, 1921, p. 79.

description. As more specific names came to be applied to the coast mountains, it is not surprising to find this common general name moving farther and farther into the interior to designate in a vague way some less familiar range.

The interior of California was rarely visited by the Spaniards until the nineteenth century, but there were one or two expeditions that led towards a knowledge of the Sierra Nevada, and on one of these the name became affixed to the range where it now rests. Commandante Pedro Fages crossed the Coast Range at some point south of San Luis Obispo in 1773 and beheld the Tulare Valley;² and in 1776, Padre Francisco Garcés entered the Tulare Valley, probably by way of the Tejon Pass, crossed the Kern River, and visited several Indian rancherias. He beheld the Sierra Nevada, which he called Sierra de San Marcos, and in his journal,³ and on Padre Pedro Font's map of the same date, the relation of the Sierra to the Tulares and the Coast Range is well defined. Notwithstanding Garcés and the Font map, the name Sierra Nevada continued to wander. As late as 1841 Commander Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., called the inner part of the Coast Range east of San Juan, the Sierra; while the mountains beyond the great interior valley were known as the Californian Range.⁴ Just when the name Sierra Nevada finally became fixed would be hard to say.

Moraga — 1805

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spanish settlers coming from Mexico were firmly established in Alta California, and both churchmen and soldiers were beginning to find out more about the country in which they lived. Several expeditions crossed the coast ranges into the great central valley of California between 1804 and 1806, visiting the Indian rancherias beyond the Tulares. Don Gabriel Moraga, in 1805, named a river descending from the eastern mountains "Rio de los Santos Reyes," from which it might be inferred that he camped on its banks on the day of Epiphany.⁵ The name has come down in English as Kings River, often erroneously written "King's." In 1806 the Merced and other rivers were named. It is improbable that any of the Spanish visitors to the San Joaquin Valley penetrated the mountains, excepting to cross by the Tehachapi or Tejon passes to the south.

² Bancroft: *California*, I, p. 197.

³ Coues: *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, 1900, I, p. 291.

⁴ Wilkes: *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 1852, II, pp. 232-233.

⁵ Muñoz: *Diario*, 1806, quoted in Richman's *California under Spain and Mexico*, 1911, p. 465.

Jedediah Smith and the American Trappers

The first white men to visit the Sierra Nevada were undoubtedly the American trappers. In 1826 Jedediah Strong Smith, having recently formed a partnership with David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette in the fur trade, set out from Great Salt Lake towards the southwest, prospecting for a new and untried beaver country.⁶ He passed through southwestern Utah by way of the Muddy and Virgin rivers and came to the Spanish settlements at San Gabriel late in November.⁷ American trappers were not welcome in Spanish California, and he was obliged to move on promptly. Crossing the mountains, probably by the Tehachapi, he came into the great valley of California and travelled north through a fertile country with a high range of mountains on his right. The precise movements of Jedediah Smith and his party will probably never be known, as the record of the next few months is very meager. That he camped for some time near the Kings River seems to be established beyond question by Dr. C. Hart Merriam through Smith's references to the Wimmelche Indians.⁸ It also seems clear that he tried to cross the Sierra in the vicinity of the Kings River, where he was turned back by deep snows after losing some mules. Whether he made other attempts in the immediate vicinity or whether he first went a considerable distance to the north is not so clear. At all events, on May 20, 1827, Jedediah Smith, with two companions, started on a successful attempt to cross the mountains.⁹ There has been much discussion over the route of this crossing, but in my opinion the evidence so far brought to light is not conclusive enough to prove beyond a doubt any one of the suggested routes.¹⁰ In eight days Smith had crossed the range and at the end of twenty days more reached Great Salt Lake. This is the first recorded crossing of the Sierra Nevada by white men.

Other trappers soon followed Jedediah Smith in the San Joaquin and undoubtedly ascended the Sierra streams for considerable distances. Ewing Young, with Kit Carson (then unknown to fame), entered the San Joaquin Valley from the south in 1829 and there met a party of Hudson Bay trappers under Peter Skene Ogden.¹¹ The Ewing

⁶ Dale: *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, pp. 183-186.

⁷ Merriam, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1923, II, pp. 228-233.

⁸ *California Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1924, III, pp. 25-26.

⁹ Smith's letter to General Clark, quoted in Dale, pp. 191-193, and in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1923, II, pp. 233-236.

¹⁰ Merriam, in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1923, XI, 4, pp. 375-379; in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1924, III, pp. 25-29; Fletcher, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, January 1924, II, pp. 344-349.

¹¹ *California Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1922, I, p. 114.

Young party returned by the southern route, apparently without attempting to cross the Sierra. Little is known of the Ogden party, but it is presumed that they came into California across the Siskiyou mountains or by way of the Klamath, although they may have crossed the Sierra by some route north of the Feather River, and possibly, as some say, by Smith's route. The character and capabilities of the men were such that it would not have been out of the question for them to have come down the eastern side of the Sierra and over one of the passes that later became well known.

Joseph Walker

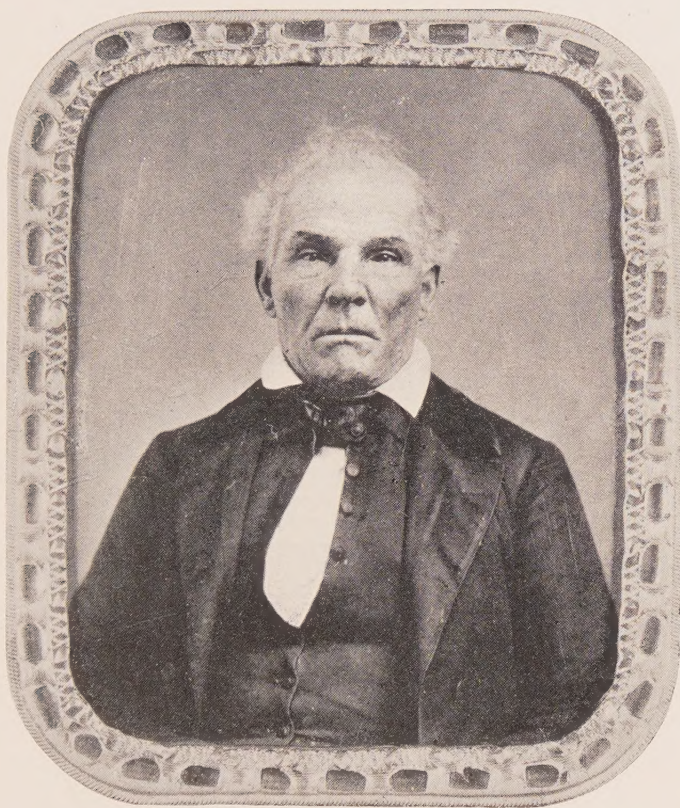
Reliable knowledge of the Sierra Nevada really begins with the expedition of Joseph Reddeford Walker in 1833. The results of Walker's expedition became popularly known almost immediately afterwards through the publication in 1837 of Washington Irving's account of the Bonneville expedition.¹² This was a very one-sided report and did not give to Walker the credit that was due him for a really remarkable achievement in exploration. Fortunately other accounts have been preserved and as they become better known, the fame of this remarkable pioneer will be greatly enhanced. Zenas Leonard, who acted as a clerk for the expedition, wrote a narrative which was published in 1839 in Clearfield, Pennsylvania, and reprinted in 1904 with annotations by Dr. W. F. Wagner. This narrative gives a circumstantial account by means of which we can trace closely the entire route. There is also in the Bancroft Library a manuscript dictated by George Nidever, a member of the party, which corroborates many of the incidents told by Leonard. To these may be added the story of Joseph L. Meek as told in Mrs. Victor's "River of the West," an account by Stephen Meek quoted by Bancroft,¹³ and the testimony of men who knew Walker.¹⁴

The Walker party, after coming down the valley of the Humboldt and passing south by Carson Lake, struck westward across the Sierra and reached the San Joaquin Valley early in November 1833. The variety of the sources of information and the importance of the expedition invite a more extended discussion of the route than is possible within the limits of this article. The party probably ascended the

¹² *The Rocky Mountains: or, Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West*; Digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the Army of the United States, and Illustrated from Various Other Sources, by Washington Irving, 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1837, (Later editions under title of "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville").

¹³ Bancroft: *California*, III, p. 390.

¹⁴ *Sonoma Democrat*, November 25, 1876; *San Jose Pioneer*, September 1, 1877; Bancroft: *Nevada*, p. 44.



JOSEPH REDDEFORD WALKER

1798-1876

The account of his expedition of 1833 contains the earliest description of Yosemite Valley and the Big Trees.

Courtesy of John M. Walker, Walnut Creek.



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eastern flank of the Sierra by one of the southern tributaries of the East Walker River. Their experiences after crossing the summit of the pass indicate that they were lost for some days in a maze of lakes and mountains.¹⁵ This description fits the character of the region near what is now known as Virginia Canyon. From here they would have crossed the Tuolumne, perhaps near Conness Creek. Passing Tenaya Lake, they probably followed the general course of the present Tioga road. This accords both with the topography of the mountains and with the statement in the *San Jose Pioneer* (September 1, 1877): "His first attempt to descend to the west was near the headwaters of the Tuolumne, which he found impossible, but on working a little to the southwest he struck the waters of the Merced and got into the Valley of the San Joaquin."

There occurs in the Leonard narrative a most significant passage:

We travelled a few miles every day, still on the top of the mountain, and our course continually obstructed with snow hills and rocks. Here we began to encounter in our path, many small streams which would shoot out from under these high snow-banks, and after running a short distance in deep chasms which they have through ages cut in the rocks, precipitate themselves from one lofty precipice to another, until they are exhausted in rain below.—Some of these precipices appeared to us to be more than a mile high. Some of the men thought that if we could succeed in descending one of these precipices to the bottom, we might thus work our way into the valley below—but on making several attempts we found it utterly impossible for a man to descend, to say nothing of our horses. We were then obliged to keep along the top of the dividing ridge between two of these chasms which seemed to lead pretty near in the direction we were going—which was west,—in passing over the mountain, supposing it to run north and south. (p. 174.)

One can easily imagine some members of the party deviating to right or left in search of a route and coming out upon the brink of Yosemite Valley at the top of Yosemite Falls, and perhaps looking off into Hetch Hetchy Valley from the summit of Smith Peak. The party found its way down from the mountains into the lower canyon of the Tuolumne River, and thence passed on into the San Joaquin Valley.

Another passage in the Leonard narrative is of great interest:

In the last two days travelling we have found some trees of the Redwood species, incredibly large—some of which would measure from 16 to 18 fathom round the trunk at the height of a man's head from the ground. (p. 180.)

The notes in the 1904 edition are misleading at this point, as the commentator evidently jumped to the conclusion that the big trees mentioned were those of the Mariposa Grove, perhaps not knowing that there were two small groves between the Merced and Tuolumne rivers. To my mind, there is not the slightest doubt that the reference is to the Tuolumne or Merced Grove and that this is the first published mention of the Big Trees of California.

¹⁵ Leonard Narrative, 1904, p. 174.

The Walker party spent the first part of the winter at Monterey and in February 1834 started on the return journey. This time they crossed the Sierra farther to the south, going up the Kern River and passing over what thereafter has been known as Walker's Pass.

Immigrant Parties

For the next few years no parties seem to have attempted the passage of the Sierra, but the tide of westward expansion was swelling, and increasing numbers of adventurous pioneers were penetrating the country west of the Missouri River. Oregon was already well known and California was beginning to attract attention.

In 1841 the first real immigrant party crossed the Sierra into California. This was under the nominal leadership of John Bartleson, although at times the party seems to have been rather independent of leaders. Accounts of this expedition have been given by John Bidwell and Josiah Belden, members of the party.¹⁶ They came across the desert from Great Salt Lake and entered the valley of the Humboldt River, then known as Mary's or Ogden's River, which, through the explorations of Ogden, Walker and others, was now a well known route. Upon leaving the Humboldt sink, they struck across the Sierra from the head of the West Walker River, over what is now known as Sonora Pass, and descended the Stanislaus. In later years, Bidwell told of his adventures while prospecting for a route that led him to the discovery of the Big Trees of the Calaveras Grove; yet, while he was doubtless the first to see that grove, the Walker discovery must take precedence.

Two years later came another immigrant party, or rather two parties: the first, under Joseph B. Chiles, splitting off from the main party at Fort Hall and entering California by the Malheur and Pit rivers; the second, or larger portion of the joint party, comprising about forty men, women and children, descending the Humboldt and going south along the eastern flank of the Sierra past Owens Lake, crossing by Walker Pass, and arriving at Gilroy's Ranch in January 1844.¹⁷

Frémont

Hitherto all of the parties that had crossed the Sierra had been either trappers or immigrants. There now began an era of definite exploration for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the country. John Charles Frémont's first expedition into the West had taken him as

¹⁶ Bancroft: *California*, IV, pp. 268-272; Bidwell: *First Emigrant Train to California*, *Century Magazine*, November 1890.

¹⁷ Bancroft: *California*, IV, pp. 392-395.

far as the Rocky Mountains, and in 1843 he set out upon a much more ambitious journey, the purpose of which was to explore the overland route to Oregon. Having accomplished this, he turned south through the Great Basin past Pyramid Lake, and then, in midwinter, endeavored to force a passage through the Sierra snow into California. Lost in the mazes of the tributaries of the Walker River, it was some time before he reached the main wall of the range. His wanderings have been traced in detail,¹⁸ and are too well known to call for further comment here, excepting to say that on the 14th of February, 1844, Frémont and Charles Preuss beheld Lake Tahoe, and on the 20th the party crossed the pass and started down the American River, reaching Sutter's Fort on March 6. After a brief rest, they went south up the San Joaquin Valley, crossing the numerous rivers that descend from the Sierra, and about the middle of April went over the Tehachapi mountains.¹⁹

Frémont returned to California the following year. On November 24, 1845, he was at Walker Lake, and from there sent the larger part of his men south under the command of Theodore Talbot, with Joseph R. Walker as guide to conduct them across Walker's Pass. Frémont himself, with Kit Carson and about 15 men, started for Sutter's Fort directly across the mountains to obtain supplies. This time he crossed by way of the Truckee River, passing Donner Lake, and reached Sutter's Fort on December 9, 1845.²⁰ After a few days' rest he started up the San Joaquin Valley in order to join the Talbot-Walker party at an agreed rendezvous. This rendezvous Frémont supposed to be the river then known to the Americans as the Lake Fork, but which still bore its Spanish name of Rio de los Santos Reyes. Walker, however, led his party over the pass and was camped in a valley in the upper Kern, which he supposed to be the rendezvous.²¹

Anxious to find his party, Frémont began a search that carried him far up into the mountains among the sources of Kings River.²² An examination of the account of this search as given in Frémont's *Memoirs*, together with the route as traced on the map of 1848 drawn by Charles Preuss, convinces me that this search was conducted in the upper basin of the North Fork of Kings River. If Frémont had endeavored to penetrate the mountains south of the main Kings River,

¹⁸ Frémont and '49. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. New York, 1914, pp. 204-229.

¹⁹ Frémont: *Exploring Expedition*, 1845, pp. 248-255.

²⁰ Letter of Frémont, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1924, III, p. 272.

²¹ Frémont: *Memoirs of My Life*, 1887, pp. 438-449.

²² Frémont: *Memoirs*, pp. 449-451; Camp, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1922, I, p. 16.

his description would have been entirely different. He could hardly have gone beyond the basin of Roaring River without descending into the main Kings River Canyon. It was, of course, impossible for him to take his animals up the lower canyon. Failing to find any trace of the Talbot-Walker party, Frémont returned to Sutter's Fort and went thence to Yerba Buena and Monterey. Kit Carson and Dick Owens were sent out on further search, and the parties were ultimately united.

On the Pruess map of 1848, there appear for the first time several names which have become fixed in Sierra nomenclature: Kern River named for Edward M. Kern, topographer and artist of the expedition; Owens Lake for Richard Owens; and Walker River and Carson River for Joseph R. Walker and Christopher (Kit) Carson respectively. It is on this map also that there appears the name of Lake Bonpland assigned to Lake Tahoe. Frémont gave this name in honor of Aimé Bonpland, the associate of Baron von Humboldt, but neither this name nor its successor, Lake Bigler, has remained. Fortunately the lake is now known by a Washoe Indian name, Tahoe, said to mean "Big Water."²³

Exploring the Passes

With the expeditions of Frémont, there ended the first phase of the history of Sierra exploration. Immigration was on in real earnest and explorations were now directed more towards determining the best routes than discovering new ones. In 1844 the first wagons were brought across the Sierra by the Stephens-Townsend-Murphy party.²⁴ Before the way could be made clear for the great tide of settlers, the tragedy of the Donner party took place and many another party crossed with terrible hardship. James P. Beckwourth claimed to have discovered the pass at the head of the Feather River, now used by the Western Pacific Railroad.²⁵ Other pioneers of the northern counties will have to be neglected as out of the immediate field of this narrative.

In 1853, in the military appropriation act of March 3, Congress directed that explorations and surveys be made "to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Ocean." Orders were issued by the Secretary of War directing Lieutenant Robert S. Williamson of the topographical corps "to examine the passes of the Sierra Nevada leading from the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys, and subsequently explore the country to the southeast of the Tulare lakes." Williamson, in the summer of

²³ James: *The Lake of the Sky*, 1915, pp. 56-62.

²⁴ Bancroft: *California*, IV, pp. 445-447.

²⁵ *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, by T. D. Bonner, 1856, new edition 1892, pp. 423-432.

1853, skirted the foothills from the Tuolumne to the Kern and examined the region of Walker's Pass.²⁶ In the following year Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith explored the routes north of the main Sierra Nevada into the upper Sacramento Valley.

The official surveys under the War Department neglected or postponed consideration of the central routes in the effort to avoid the snows of the Sierra passes. The people of California, however, were not content to give up so easily and from 1851 until the Central Pacific Railroad was actually begun, there were ceaseless endeavors to find the best grade, first for a wagon road, and then for a railroad. About 1851 a Major Ebbetts prospected a pass which for a time bore his name.²⁷ In 1853 Ebbetts was again exploring for a pass in that vicinity, accompanied by George H. Goddard, a civil engineer. This was probably the same trip on which Goddard was with Lieutenant Moore—presumably the officer mentioned by Bunnell as leading a punitive expedition to Yosemite in 1852.

In 1855, the legislature of California authorized an investigation of the most practical wagon route across the Sierra, but failed to make an appropriation to carry on the survey. Nevertheless, under the energetic insistence of S. H. Marlette, Surveyor General, several parties took the field under voluntary subscription and a road was located along the South Fork of American River by Slippery Ford. George H. Goddard and Sherman Day made the principal survey and on this occasion Goddard ascertained that the boundary angle between California and the then territory of Utah was situated in Lake Tahoe and not in Carson Valley.²⁸ Goddard prepared a map of the region drawn from all the material then available and from his own observations, and it was recommended to the legislature in 1856 by Marlette that this map be purchased. No appropriation was made and the map was later sold to the Wheeler Survey, but has since disappeared.²⁹ A general map of the State of California was prepared by Goddard and published in 1857 by Britton and Rey; and it was in recognition of this map that members of the Whitney Survey in 1864 bestowed the name of Goddard upon one of the highest mountains in the Sierra.³⁰

The main outlines of the Sierra Nevada were well known by 1850 and from this time on the history of the range must be divided into

²⁶ Pacific Railroad Reports, V, part 1, pp. 12-18; part 2, pp. 11-27.

²⁷ Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of California, 1856, p. 101; Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 446.

²⁸ Surveyor-General's Report, 1856.

²⁹ Surveyor-General's Report, 1856; U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report for 1900, Appendix 3, p. 272.

³⁰ Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 382.

three sections: (1) the development of practicable transportation routes across the mountains; (2) the history of the foothill country, which is largely a history of mining, lumbering and ranching; and (3) the history of the High Sierra and its great scenic canyons. It is only with the last phase that we will continue to deal. Leaving out of consideration as belonging more to the first two classifications the region lying north of the Tuolumne, I will here consider only the history of that region lying between the main immigrant routes and the southern extremity of the Sierra at Walker Pass. It is extraordinary how little was known of this magnificent region of the High Sierra until comparatively recent years. A few of its most striking features, such as Yosemite Valley and the Big Trees and later Mount Whitney, received a great deal of publicity, but for the most part the country was long unmapped and practically unknown save to a few prospectors and to sheep-herders.

Yosemite and the Great Canyons

The most famous of the great canyons of the Sierra is of course the upper canyon of the Merced River, Yosemite Valley; but to the north and south lie other canyons similar in structure and very nearly, if not quite, as remarkable in their scenic features. John Muir frequently referred to these other canyons by the generic name of "yosemites." The most striking are the Hetch Hetchy or Tuolumne yosemite on the north, and the Kings River yosemite on the south. The first record of any knowledge of Hetch Hetchy is a reference to its discovery by Joseph Screech in 1850.³¹ No mention is made of the Kings River Canyon or of the other great canyons until some years after the wide publicity that attended the opening up of Yosemite.

Although it is now known with reasonable certainty that Yosemite Valley was seen by the Walker party in 1833, it was not until 1851 that it can properly be said to have been discovered and made widely known. The history of the first expedition into Yosemite is well known through the narrative of Dr. Lafayette Houghton Bunnell and the wide publicity given by James Mason Hutchings.³² It has been very well summarized more recently by Ralph S. Kuykendall.³³ The party of the Mariposa Battalion under Major James D. Savage that entered Yosemite Valley on March 25, 1851, was undoubtedly the first visit by

³¹ Whitney Survey: Yosemite Guide Book, 1870, p. 110; Muir: Hetch Hetchy Valley, in *Overland Monthly*, July 1873, pp. 42-43.

³² Bunnell: *Discovery of the Yosemite*, 1880; Hutchings: *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California*, 1860; Hutchings: *In the Heart of the Sierras*, 1886.

³³ *Early History of Yosemite Valley*, in *The Grizzly Bear*, July 1919, reprinted by U. S. National Park Service, 1919; *History of the Yosemite Region*, in *Handbook of Yosemite National Park* by Ansel F. Hall, 1921.

white men to the floor of the Valley. This was followed by a second visit in May by some of the same men under Captain John Bowling. In the following year, May 1852, two prospectors were killed by Indians near the foot of Bridal Veil Falls. Shortly thereafter a punitive expedition under First Lieutenant Tredwell Moore, 2nd Infantry, U. S. A., executed five of the Indians near the scene of the murder and pursued others across the mountains by Lake Tenaya over the Mono trail to Bloody Canyon. They returned to Fort Miller by way of Tuolumne Soda Springs and over a trail that passed to the south of the Yosemite, evidently crossing at the head of Nevada Falls. The discovery of some gold deposits near Mono Lake aroused excitement among the Fresno camps, and a certain Leroy Vining with some companions went to investigate. Leevining Canyon now bears his name.

James Capen Adams, the famous grizzly bear hunter, came to the Sierra in 1852 and established a camp somewhere between the Merced and Tuolumne rivers. He visited Yosemite Valley in the spring of 1854 and shortly afterward, on the Mariposa River, captured alive one of his best grizzlies, the famous Ben Franklin.³⁴

With the year 1855 the tourist history of Yosemite began when Hutchings visited the Valley with Thomas A. Ayers, Walter Millard, and Alexander Stair. Ayers made a sketch of Yosemite Falls which was published in October by Britton and Rey and was the first illustration of Yosemite scenery to be given to the public.³⁵ Hutchings described the scenery in an article published in the *Mariposa Gazette* of August 16, 1855. Several other parties followed immediately, including one which claimed to have discovered Vernal and Nevada falls, although Bunnell makes it very clear that both of these falls were seen by members of the Bowling party in 1851.³⁶

The first trail into Yosemite was built in 1856 by Milton Mann and Houston Mann, following in general the present route from Wawona. During the same year a primitive house of pine poles and shakes was commenced in the Valley and Yosemite received its first women visitors in a party from Mariposa.

The history of Kings River Canyon begins several years later. Captain John J. Kuykendall's company of the Mariposa Battalion undoubtedly saw the canyon in 1851, and may have entered it, but the earliest visit to which I have seen any definite reference was in 1858,

³⁴ *The Adventures of James Capen Adams, Mountaineer and Grizzly Bear Hunter of California*, by Theodore H. Hittell, Boston and San Francisco, 1861, pp. 196-206.

³⁵ Hutchings: *Heart of the Sierras*, 1886, pp. 80, 97.

³⁶ James H. Lawrence, in *Overland Monthly*, October 1884; Bunnell: *Discovery*, 1880, p. 85.

when a man from Tulare named J. H. Johnson and five comrades were piloted across Kearsarge Pass by a Digger Indian named Sampson.³⁷ It is not impossible that prospectors may have visited the canyon a year or two earlier, however. The real history of the canyon begins with the year 1864 and will be told further on in connection with the explorations of the Whitney Survey. Nothing definite is known of visitors to the other great canyons of the Sierra until some years later.

The Big Trees

It has already been observed that the Walker party probably saw the Merced or Tuolumne Grove of Big Trees in 1833 and that Bidwell happened upon the Calaveras Grove while trying to find a route for the Bartleson party in 1841. In those days men were more interested in trapping and in gold than in the wonders of nature; so, while the big trees may have excited surprise and admiration for a moment, they were soon forgotten. Thus it may well be that many a hunter and miner paused to look at the colossal trunks and went his way without proclaiming the discovery.

Bunnell says that a man who worked for him in 1851 had seen some of the big trees near the Mariposa Grove in 1849, but this fact seems to have been brought to light only after the announced discovery of the Mariposa Grove a few years later. The discovery of the big trees is usually credited to A. T. Dowd, a hunter employed by a canal company at Murphy's Camp, who brought attention to the Calaveras Grove in the spring of 1852.³⁸ Whatever the precise course of events may have been, the Calaveras Grove soon received a great deal of publicity. The scientific name has been the subject of considerable discussion, but the name *Sequoia gigantea* is now the one most frequently used. The first botanical descriptions were published in England based on specimens brought in 1853 by William Lobb, collector for Veitch's Exotic Nursery. Specimens were transplanted shortly afterwards to nurseries and gardens in the eastern United States and in England and the continent.

The big trees of California soon became celebrated and enterprising exhibitors hastened to secure tangible evidence of these wonders. In 1853 one of the Calaveras trees was cut down and the following year an exhibit of the bark was displayed in the Union Club, New York. In 1854 one of the finest trees, known as "The Mother of the Forest," was stripped of its bark to a height of 116 feet. Portions of this bark were exhibited at the Crystal Palace, New York, in 1855, and in 1856 in

³⁷ Chalfant: *Story of Inyo*, 1922, p. 76.

³⁸ Hutchings: *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity*, 1860, pp. 10-12.

London. The first London exhibit attracted so much attention that the exhibit was transferred, in April 1857, to the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, where a full 100 feet of the bark was set up.³⁹

The Calaveras Grove was the first grove to become generally known, but others were soon discovered. In 1855 a workman named Hogg reported to Galen Clark the discovery of big trees near the route to Yosemite, and others were discovered shortly afterwards by J. E. Clayton. Bunnell says he accompanied Clayton on a second visit. In June 1856, Galen Clark and Milton Mann explored the Mariposa Grove. The Fresno Grove and others became known soon afterwards.⁴⁰ There is little doubt that the big trees of the Tule River region were a familiar sight to many prospectors, particularly those who crossed the Sierra from 1853 to 1855 in the rush to the Inyo gold discoveries. These trees received no prominent mention, however, until the publications of the Whitney Survey, in which it was said that they were discovered by d'Heureuse, a member of the Survey.⁴¹

The Giant Forest, on the Marble Fork of Kaweah River, was discovered by Hale Tharp in 1858. He carved his name and the date on a log at a spot now known as Log Meadow. In 1860 he visited the grove again, and from that time forth considered it his own particular stamping ground. The groves between the Kings River and the Kaweah were the first to fall before the attacks of the lumbermen, and by 1864 destruction of the forests was rapidly going forward.

The subsequent history of the big trees may be summarized as follows: The Calaveras Grove continued to attract the most attention for a long time and received innumerable tourists, particularly during the '60s and '70s; later, the Mariposa Grove came into prominence on account of its favorable position on the Wawona route to Yosemite; to the south, the destruction of the forests for lumber went on for many years, and is still in progress; some of the finest trees of all, however, were saved by the establishment of Sequoia and General Grant National Parks in 1890, and by protection under the Forest Reserves. It is only today that these southerly groves are becoming more appreciated, and at the same time there seems to be a revival of interest in the Calaveras Grove.

The Whitney Survey and Clarence King

A new period in the history of the Sierra Nevada opens with the establishment, in 1860, of the California State Geological Survey. In the next few years the remote canyons and the highest mountain peaks

³⁹ Description of the Great Tree, etc., New York, 1854; Description of the Mammoth Tree from California, etc., London, 1857.

⁴⁰ Bunnell: Discovery, 1880, p. 335.

⁴¹ Whitney Survey: Yosemite Guide Book, 1870, p. 154.

were to become known and placed upon the map. Professor Josiah Dwight Whitney of Harvard University received the appointment of State Geologist and proceeded to organize a staff of remarkable young men, several of whom became national leaders in the fields of geology and topography. William H. Brewer, later professor of agriculture at Yale, was Whitney's principal assistant; and William Ashburner and Chester Averill were also among the first members of the staff. In the following year Charles F. Hoffmann was added as topographical assistant and Dr. J. G. Cooper as zoologist.

During the first two years of its existence, the Survey devoted most of its attention to preliminary surveys and to organization, and it was not until 1863 that work was begun in the Sierra Nevada. Meanwhile the staff had been increased by the addition of William More Gabb as palaeontologist, and by two young men who had recently graduated from the Scientific School at Yale, Clarence King and James Terry Gardner. King volunteered to go on an expedition with the Survey to Lassen's Peak and Mount Shasta, and after serving as volunteers for a while, both young men became permanently attached to the Survey.

For the next few years, this staff, under direction of Professor Whitney, was exceedingly active and produced a great quantity of information which Whitney proceeded to prepare for publication. The legislature, however, while generous at first, soon became antagonistic to Whitney, whose ideas of scientific research diverged more and more from the demands of politicians and "practical" men. His employers were more concerned with metals and other minerals than with mountain tops and glaciers and, especially, old bones and shells. Whitney strove valiantly to impress upon the legislature and the people of the State the importance of palaeontology and the other accompaniments of a geological survey. Support was more and more withdrawn, and by 1870 the work of the Survey was practically closed, although it was not officially discontinued until 1874.⁴²

The results were published in a series of volumes, brought out largely at Whitney's own expense and for which he received only partial reimbursement from the State. The series was never completed. There were also produced several editions of a Yosemite Guide Book,⁴³ which for many years was the principal source of reliable information about the Yosemite region and almost the only one about the High Sierra. A perusal of these volumes, particularly the Yosemite Guide Book and

⁴² Brewster: *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney*, 1909.

⁴³ The Yosemite Book, 1868; the Yosemite Guide-Book, 1870; The Yosemite Guide-Book, pocket edition, 1871; same, revised, 1874.

the publication on geology,⁴⁴ brings to light the vivid personalities of the members of the Survey and affords many a delight in the picturesque descriptions of the rugged High Sierra scenery. Here we read the official record of the explorations that was immortalized in popular form by Clarence King in "Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada."⁴⁵

In June 1863, Whitney, Brewer and Hoffmann made a thorough reconnaissance of the region beyond Yosemite Valley in the upper basin of the Tuolumne. It was on this occasion that they climbed and named Mount Dana, June 28, 1863. The name was given in honor of James Dwight Dana, then the most eminent American geologist and Vice-President of the National Academy of Sciences.

In 1864 there was undertaken the first extensive exploration of the hitherto vaguely known regions of the High Sierra. Inasmuch as the route followed during these explorations has never to my knowledge been traced in detail since the publication of accurate topographical maps, it will perhaps not be out of place to follow its course so far as it can be ascertained from the reports of the Survey and the writings of Clarence King.

The party under the leadership of Brewer, included Hoffmann, Gardner, and King. They entered the mountains from Thomas' Mill and kept along the main divide between the North Fork of Kaweah River and Boulder Creek nearly to Mount Silliman, probably crossing what is now known as J. O. Pass. Mount Silliman was ascended by some members of the party and a clearly recognizable sketch by Hoffmann is shown in the report. They observed the dome structure in this vicinity and may have visited Twin Lakes before turning northward. From Rowell Meadow, or vicinity, they followed Sugarloaf Creek as far as the Sugarloaf. Guided by observations from Silliman and Sugarloaf, the party proceeded toward the western crest of the Sierra and crossed "King's River, a stream twenty feet broad, and travelled up the valley of the south branch of the south fork of that river, camping at the western base of Mount Brewer."⁴⁶

The identification of the route is materially assisted by Hoffmann's map, published about 1873, on which the route is traced by a faint dotted line.⁴⁷ From this it is clear that the party ascended the eastern bank of Roaring River and ascended Brewer Creek. It is interesting to observe that Clarence King, with characteristic freedom, in his description stretches the width of the stream to thirty feet. Both King's

⁴⁴ Geology, Volume I, 1865.

⁴⁵ Boston, 1872; revised edition, 1874.

⁴⁶ Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 378.

⁴⁷ Reproduced in part in King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, edition of 1874.

description and that of the official report agree, however, in describing the remarkable system of moraines that flank Roaring River; in fact the official report shows so much talent in description that one is inclined to believe that King wrote many of the best passages and afterwards dressed them up a little for his own purposes in the articles that he wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly*, which were ultimately brought out in his book.⁴⁸

From the camp at the base of Mount Brewer, the peak was twice ascended; first on the 2nd of July and again on the 4th. This statement is found in the Whitney report and is corroborated by the discovery of the original record on the summit by Miss Estelle Miller of Joseph N. Le Conte's party in 1896.⁴⁹ Two excellent drawings of Mount Brewer, one by Hoffmann and one by Gardner, appear in the 1865 report. An estimate was made of the height of Mount Brewer by barometrical measurement, and was given as 13,886 feet. This was not far from the height determined many years later by the United States Geological Survey, 13,577 feet.

It was from the upper slopes of Mount Brewer that Brewer and King and their companions first beheld the lofty peak which they then and there hailed as the highest of the Sierra and named in honor of their chief, Mount Whitney. The view of Whitney from this point is most inspiring and it is little wonder that Clarence King became excited and insisted upon attempting to reach it. He received permission from Brewer, and with Richard Cotter, "an indomitable mountain-climber whose services were of great value in more than one branch of the work,"⁵⁰ left the others on Mount Brewer on the 4th of July, and set out upon that adventurous scramble which, as described in "Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada," is one of the classics of mountaineering literature. It would be vain to endeavor to trace the precise course of their arduous climb, but a glance at the maze of granite walls and dizzy pinnacles is sufficient to win acknowledgment of King's extraordinary perseverance. If King had only known, he could have crossed the divide to the headwaters of the Kern by an easier route but he seemed to have a special aptitude for discovering only the most difficult ones. This after all is not an uncommon failing of mountaineers in attempting to go where no one has been before. I know from personal experience how easy it is to become trapped upon a climb that presents at first a reasonably safe course, but which develops unexpected difficulties. If one has a fixed purpose to attain the objective,

⁴⁸ *Atlantic Monthly*, May, June, July, August, 1871.

⁴⁹ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1897, II, 2, p. 88; 1922, XI, 3, p. 252, and plate LXXII.

⁵⁰ Whitney Survey: *Geology*, 1865, p. 366.



MOUNT TYNDALL FROM MOUNT WILLIAMSON

Showing the Great Western Divide in the distance, with Milestone Mountain and Table Mountain.

Photograph by J. N. LeConte.

it is not easy to relinquish a line of approach once adopted; thus one often becomes involved in dangers that in calmer moments would be avoided. With a fellow-feeling for King in such matters one can understand how he got himself into the difficulties described, especially as the Kings-Kern divide in the vicinity of Mount Brewer presents fewer opportunities for crossing than almost any other crest in the Sierra.

Once over the divide, King and Cotter made rapid progress toward Mount Tyndall, but there again they became involved in difficulties that seem almost incredible to anyone who has been on the summit of that mountain. I have been up one side of Mount Tyndall and down the other, and nowhere did I see any slope that seemed so hazardous as that described by King. Yet there is hardly a doubt that the mountain of his exploit is the same as the one that now bears the name. James D. Hague once intimated to Clarence King that his story of the slopes of Mount Tyndall might well seem pretty steep to an unimaginative reader, whereupon King offered to throw off five degrees for a flat acceptance or, otherwise, to conduct him personally to the scene of the adventure.⁵¹

From the summit of Mount Tyndall observations were taken of Mount Whitney, Mount Williamson, and other points. Mount Whitney proved too far away to be reached on this hasty trip and King and Cotter were obliged to turn back from Mount Tyndall and return to the camp near Mount Brewer. The account of the return is given at great length in "Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada" but in the official report is confined to the following few words: "We were obliged to take a new route home, but made the whole successfully, reaching the camp near Mount Brewer with our bones and the barometer whole, although twice on the way back Cotter came within a hair's breadth of losing his life, and once I almost gave myself up."⁵²

After King's return, the whole party went back to Big Meadows, being out of provisions. From this camp, King and Brewer made a hasty trip to Visalia, whence Brewer returned to the party and King made another effort to reach the summit of Mount Whitney. He followed the trail recently constructed across the Kern River to the Owens Lake region and passed by what is termed Sheep Rock, about eight miles south of Mount Whitney, the point subsequently to come into fame as false Mount Whitney, later called Mount Corcoran and now known as Mount Langley. After some difficulty in crossing the plateau, King reached the base of Mount Whitney but once more he chose an unfortunate route for climbing and, after reaching a point

⁵¹ Clarence King Memoirs, 1904, p. 410.

⁵² Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 387.

within a few hundred feet of the summit, was forced to abandon the attempt. The customary label of those days was therefore placed upon Mount Whitney by declaring it "utterly inaccessible." This is qualified by the remark that "Mr. King thinks it possible, however, that some route may yet be found by which the summit can be reached." This was, indeed, true as King himself learned nine years later.⁵³

While King was attempting to reach Mount Whitney, Brewer and the others descended into the great canyon of the South Fork of Kings River. They remarked its resemblance to the Yosemite and were impressed by the enormous height of its cliffs. Attempting to ascend the main South Fork towards Paradise Valley, they were forced to give up as they could not take their animals over the Indian foot trail. They did, nevertheless, succeed in scaling the north wall, probably by Copper Creek, and camped in Granite Basin. From there they made a series of unsuccessful attempts to reach Mount Goddard which they had seen and named from Mount Brewer a few weeks before. They observed that the canyon of the Middle Fork of Kings River was even deeper than that of the South Fork. From this point they also observed and named Mount King and Mount Gardner. At the head of what is here termed "the north fork" they observed a very high range of peaks which they called the Palisades.⁵⁴ By "north fork" they probably meant the northerly branch entering Kings River Canyon, shown on present-day maps as the Upper South Fork of Kings River. They undoubtedly had a fairly correct conception of the main topographical features of the Kings River basin, as is shown by Hoffmann's map; and at the time of writing the report they were familiar with the true North Fork of Kings River, which is shown in its proper location on the map as taking its source west of Mount Goddard.

After abandoning the attempt to take their animals into the Middle Fork, Brewer and his party returned to Kings River Canyon, ascended Bubbs Creek and Charlotte Creek, and crossed Kearsarge Pass. It is remarked that "the labor of crossing was much facilitated by the fact that a party of prospectors had crossed here not long before, and had done a good deal towards making a passable trail."⁵⁵ This was the party of Thomas Keough and others, including John Bubbs for whom the main tributary of the South Fork of Kings River was named.⁵⁶

The Brewer party went north through Owens Valley and reentered the mountains by way of Rock Creek and Mono Pass at the head of

⁵³ Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 391.

⁵⁴ Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 393.

⁵⁵ Whitney Survey: Geology, 1865, p. 394.

⁵⁶ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1918, X, 3, p. 340.

Mono Creek, a tributary of the South Fork of the San Joaquin. To a peak just south of the pass on the main crest, they gave the name Mount Abbot. The report mentions that this pass had been used in the preceding year (1863) by a party of seventy cavalrymen with pack train.

The members of Brewer's party were much impressed by the grand scenery of the Mono Creek region and were particularly interested in a group of dark, crimson colored peaks towards the north. Gardner visited this group, but it is not recorded that he reached the summit of any of the peaks. I judge from the route shown on Hoffmann's map and from the character of the country itself, that Gardner went up one of the side canyons of Mono Creek and perhaps ascended the slopes of Red and White Mountain. Continuing down Mono Creek, the mingling of slate and volcanic formations with the granite was observed. One of the slate peaks, which may be the one now called Volcanic Knob, was called Mount Gabb after the palaeontologist member of the Survey. The name has been transposed to one of the higher granite peaks.

Crossing the South Fork of the San Joaquin, the plateau between that basin and the North Fork of Kings River was ascended, and another attempt was made to reach Mount Goddard. Cotter and one of the soldiers who had been detailed as an escort to the Survey party, managed to get within a few hundred feet of the summit and took a reading of the barometer. From this, the height of the mountain was calculated to be about 14,000 feet. The United States Geological Survey has since determined the height to be 13,555 feet.

The Survey party now turned towards the northwest and made their way to what they call the north fork of the San Joaquin. They evidently reached the vicinity of the junction of the two forks now known as the South and Middle forks, and the remarkable canyon and dome scenery of that locality is unmistakably described. Brewer likened one of the domes to "the top of a gigantic balloon struggling to get up through the rock."⁵⁷ The Middle Fork was crossed at a point north of this dome, probably in the vicinity of the later Miller and Lux bridge. Ascending Granite Creek, they made camp in Jackass Meadow. A high peak east of Mount Lyell was observed and named Mammoth Mountain. Subsequently, when they saw it from the other side, they gave it the name Mount Ritter. The peak named Black Mountain on Hoffmann's map was climbed and Mount Clark was beheld only eight miles to the north. A pass about eighteen miles to the northeast appeared to them to be the lowest across the Sierra

⁵⁷ Whitney Survey: *Geology*, 1865, p. 401; *Yosemite Guide-Book*, 1870, p. 137.

between Carson and Walker passes, which is in fact the case. It was remarked that cattle had been driven across to Owens Valley by this route, using a crossing of the San Joaquin above the one they had just used—doubtless at the point known as Sheep Crossing. Turning southwest to the head of Chiquito San Joaquin, they found trails indicating a return to the regions of civilization. From the head of Fresno River they reached Clark's Ranch at Wawona on the 23rd of August, "pretty nearly at the end of their resources, as well as their strength."⁵⁸

Thus ended one of the greatest exploring trips in the history of the Sierra Nevada. It was the only attempt of the Whitney Survey to examine the region of the High Sierra at the head-waters of the San Joaquin and Kings Rivers, excepting a visit to Mount Ritter. Subsequent efforts of the Survey in the High Sierra were in the region about the head-waters of the Merced and Tuolumne, which had already been reconnoitred in June and July 1863. In October and November 1864, King and Gardner were engaged in making a survey and map of Yosemite Valley for the commissioners appointed by the Governor to manage the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees. They climbed many of the points around the Valley, and ascended Mounts Hoffmann and Conness.⁵⁹

The results of the publicity given to Yosemite and the High Sierra were already beginning to be shown, and the Whitney Survey report states that Mount Dana had received a number of visitors during the season of 1864. King, with Cotter—the companion of his climb of Mount Tyndall, attempted to climb the Obelisk (Mount Clark), but they were driven from the mountains by a severe snow storm. Their experiences are vividly described in a chapter in King's "Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada." An attempt was made by Brewer and Hoffmann to climb Mount Lyell but they did not reach the very summit, "which was found to be a sharp and inaccessible pinnacle of granite rising above a field of snow."⁶⁰ What would they have said if they could have seen some seventy-five members of the Sierra Club, many of them novices, grouped on this pinnacle fifty years later!

Names were given at this time to a number of the peaks including Lyell, Dana, Conness, Ritter, Warren, and Maclure (erroneously spelled McClure on later maps).⁶¹

Further explorations of the Sierra were carried on in the seasons of 1866 and 1867. In the former year, King and Gardner made a

⁵⁸ Whitney Survey: *Geology*, 1865, p. 403.

⁵⁹ King: *Mountaineering*, 1872, p. 144; Whitney Survey: *Yosemite Guide-Book*, 1870, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Whitney Survey: *Yosemite Guide-Book*, 1870, p. 104.

⁶¹ Whitney Survey: *Yosemite Guide-Book*, 1870, pp. 94, 100, 101.

survey east and southeast of Yosemite, and it may have been on this occasion that King attempted unsuccessfully to climb Mount Ritter.⁶² He did succeed, however, in reaching the summit of the Obelisk (Mount Clark), with Gardner, after a perilous leap that provides one of the greatest thrills in King's vivid writings. The fact that subsequent climbers have had little difficulty in reaching this summit and have never been able to discover the "location" of this famous episode, should in no way detract from the enjoyment of the reader, for King's faculty for finding the worst possible route should always be borne in mind.⁶³

The principal exploration of 1867 was conducted by Hoffmann, who made a thorough study of the region just north of Yosemite Valley, including the canyon of the Tuolumne. A photographer, W. Harris, accompanied the expedition and four of his photographs were included, with a number of Yosemite views by C. E. Watkins, in the first edition of Whitney's Yosemite Guide Book, published in a limited edition in 1868. Notable among these is a photograph taken near the summit of Mount Hoffmann, showing Charles F. Hoffmann himself with his transit on the mountain that had been named for him.

The Whitney Survey was the first great contribution to an accurate knowledge of the High Sierra, and the series of publications and maps made this knowledge generally available, yet perhaps the greatest achievement of the Survey was the initiation of the young men, whom Whitney had gathered together, into the splendors of the mountain scenery and their training in the sciences of geology and geography. The fruit of these experiences was borne almost immediately in the delightful literary products that came from Clarence King in the early days of his enthusiasm; and later, in Hoffmann's professional career, in the achievements of King and Gardner in the Survey of the Fortieth Parallel, and the organization under King of the United States Geological Survey.

The Yosemite Valley Established as a Park

Following the discovery of Yosemite and the first exploitation of the scenic attractions for tourists, the destiny of the Valley was for a time in suspense. James Mason Hutchings, James C. Lamon, and a few others settled in the Valley and began to claim portions of the land as homesteads. Inasmuch as no survey had been made, no legal applications could be filed, but for several years claims were bought,

⁶² Whitney Survey: Yosemite Guide-Book, 1870, p. 109.

⁶³ King: Mountaineering, 1872, pp. 198-205.

sold, and exchanged on a somewhat speculative basis. Fortunately public opinion became sufficiently aroused to bring about the preservation of the Valley for the benefit of all the people, and in 1864, a bill was introduced in Congress backed by many influential citizens of California, for the purpose of setting aside the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees "for public use, resort, and recreation." This bill was enacted, and approved by President Lincoln June 30, 1864. The act granted the territory to the State of California to be held inalienable for all time for public use. The grant was accepted by the State and a commission appointed to manage it. The first commissioners were Frederick Law Olmsted, James Dwight Whitney, William Ashburner, I. W. Raymond, E. S. Holden, Alexander Deering, George W. Coulter, and Galen Clark. The administration was at first closely connected with the work of the State Geological Survey under Whitney and, as noted above, two members of the Whitney Survey were among the commissioners. Galen Clark, who had already become identified with the Mariposa Grove and was established at Clark's Station, now better known as Wawona, was appointed Guardian of the Grove and Valley, and continued to serve in that capacity for some time.

Hutchings very actively contested the authority of the commissioners to require him to lease the property that he regarded as his own. He began a long and bitter contest which was not even terminated when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled against him. He brought his fight into the legislature of California where at last an appropriation was made by which he and the other claimants were paid substantial amounts in settlement of their alleged rights. Even then, Hutchings continued to grumble for many years at what he considered an injustice and an inadequate compensation.⁶⁴

Many absurd stories regarding the Indians and their legends became current during the early years of tourist travel to Yosemite and are still popular among visitors who know nothing of Indians and who are sentimentally inclined. The pity of it is that the genuine Indian legends, which are far superior, are rarely to be heard. Fortunately, Dr. C. Hart Merriam has preserved many of them in his book, "The Dawn of the World," and others may be found in ethnological and folk-lore publications.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Hutchings: *Heart of the Sierras*, 1886, pp. 149-162.

⁶⁵ Bibliography, in *The Dawn of the World: Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Mewan Indians of California*, collected and edited by C. Hart Merriam, Cleveland, 1910, pp. 243-246.

Other Events of the Sixties

The summer of 1864 was one of extreme drought. This occurrence had a profound effect upon the history of the Sierra, as it drove the stockmen into the high mountains to seek pasture for their cattle. The Whitney Report mentions a large number of cattle in the meadows near the sources of the San Joaquin. The drought was felt on both sides of the range and it is probable that many of the passes were crossed both from the east and west that summer and the region became well known as good summer grazing ground. From that time on, cattle and sheep were to be found in the most remote mountain meadows and canyon heads. The cattle, of course, did not travel so far as the sheep, nor did they do so much damage. In dry years there was always over-grazing, and the destruction to the watershed, particularly in the Kern River region, has probably permanently impaired the water supply of the San Joaquin Valley. Sheep eat everything within reach, pulling up the small growth by the roots, leaving nothing for reproduction, and even destroying the soil itself by pulverizing it with their sharp hoofs. The first rains thereafter wash the soil down the rivers. Clarence King observed on his trip to Mount Whitney in 1873 that "The Kern Plateau, so green and lovely on my former visit in 1864, was now a gray sea of rolling granite ridges, darkened at intervals by forest, but no longer velvety with meadows and upland grasses. The indefatigable shepherds have camped everywhere, leaving hardly a spear of grass behind them."⁶⁶

For this the stockmen can hardly be blamed as they were acting for their own legitimate interests—at least in the early days—and neither they nor anyone else realized the damage they were doing until many years later. At first the stockmen were the typical American pioneer settlers, but in later years the sheep grazing industry fell largely into the hands of Portuguese, Frenchmen, and Basques, who had no permanent interest in the country. The sheepmen divided the range among themselves and until the forest reserves and national parks were established, they had matters pretty much their own way. They built rude trails across passes that remained unknown to others for half a century, and here and there, in some high gravelly open space near the snowline, one can still see their stone shelters. The sheepmen, like the Indians, were indeed pioneers, but as they contributed little to the public knowledge of the Sierra, it is only occasionally that they will be brought into this record of exploration.

Miners also penetrated the High Sierra in the decade following 1860. The Kearsarge mines were located, in the fall of 1864, near

⁶⁶ King: *Mountaineering*, 1874, p. 285.

Kearsarge Pass. Some sympathizers with the Confederate cause had recently named a small range of hills in Owens Valley the Alabama Hills in honor of the Confederate privateer. The discoverers of the new mines were Union sympathizers and evened up the score by naming their mine for the Union battleship. The discovery of the Kearsarge mines brought other prospectors to the vicinity and a camp was soon established. On March 1, 1866, following a heavy storm in the mountains, an avalanche descended upon this camp, sweeping away a number of cabins. The wife of one of the miners was killed in the disaster.⁶⁷ Development of the mine continued for several years, and a stamp mill was built at a cost of \$40,000. But success was only intermittent, and the mines and mill ultimately fell into disuse; yet even today one may find some old bearded miner picking away at the rocks high up on Kearsarge Mountain with the hope that springs eternal in the human breast, particularly if that human be a miner.

A picturesque incident in the history of the Sierra occurred in 1861, when a little caravan of nine Bactrian camels crossed the Sierra Nevada to the Nevada mines. These camels should not be confused with the ones imported by the War Department in 1856 and 1857 for the purpose of establishing a camel transport over the arid lands from New Mexico to Southern California. The earlier camels came from the Mediterranean, but the ones that were brought across the Sierra in 1861 were imported from Asia and were not connected with the experiment of the War Department in the southwest. In Vischer's Pictorial there is a picture of the Bactrian camels in the midst of the Calaveras Grove of Big Trees—a startlingly incongruous scene.⁶⁸

A visit to Kings River Canyon that deserves to be better known was made in September 1868 by E. C. Winchell of Millerton and Captain John N. Appleton, retired English sea-captain, guided by William Haines. Winchell wrote a remarkably interesting account of the trip, with admirable descriptions of the sequoia forests, the meadows and streams on the route, and of the great canyon itself, which was published in the *Daily Morning Call*, San Francisco, September 11 and 12, 1872. Horse Corral Meadow was then known as "Crescent Lawn," and on the route from Thomas' Mill were "People's Creek" and "Water-Spout Creek." Winchell gave names to many of the features of the Canyon, as for instance, "Pillars of Hercules," "The Colosseum," "The Rotunda," "Thunder Creek." Eleven years later his son, Lil A. Winchell, gave similar names to the cliffs and domes of Tehipite.

⁶⁷ Chalfant: *The Story of Inyo*, 1922, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁸ Vischer's *Pictorial of California*, San Francisco, 1870, pp. 5, 66-67; Edward Fitzgerald Beale, by Stephen Bonsal, 1912, pp. 198-210.

John Muir

In 1868 there came to the Sierra for the first time the man who, more than any other, has given it world-wide fame. John Muir arrived in California in April of that year and immediately set out for the Yosemite accompanied by a young Englishman named Chilwell. They walked in by way of Coulterville and Crane Flat and, after eight or ten days in the Valley, returned via Wawona and the Mariposa Grove to Snelling where Muir spent the following winter on a sheep ranch.

The Yosemite made a profound impression upon Muir who was then about thirty years old and was in a receptive mood for the inspiration that was to bring him into his great life work.

The next year Muir, in his eagerness to visit the Sierra, engaged as an extra hand in taking the flocks of sheep belonging to Pat Delaney into the upper basin of the Tuolumne. The story is beautifully told in the publication of Muir's journal of the trip under the title of "My First Summer in the Sierra." They followed the general course of the present Tioga Road to Tuolumne Meadows and Muir had plenty of time to make side trips and become familiar with the natural history of the region. He climbed Mount Hoffmann and spent a glorious day on North Dome overlooking Yosemite. Later he crossed Mono Pass and went down Bloody Canyon to Mono Lake. At the end of September he returned to Delaney's ranch, his mind made up to revisit Yosemite and study it more intensively. He returned to Yosemite Valley in November and remained there all winter, and for several years thereafter Yosemite was his home.

Muir now began a series of trips through the Sierra and while he never described them systematically in terms of time and geography, he gathered from them the vivid impressions that are reproduced in his interpretations of nature and of geological history. From Muir's various publications⁶⁹ and from the recently published "Life and Letters of John Muir" by William Frederic Badè, it is possible, however, to trace many of his journeys.

In 1870 Muir accompanied Professor Joseph Le Conte and his party to the Tuolumne Meadows, Mount Dana and Mono Lake. It was in the following year, 1871, that Muir made his discovery of living glaciers in the Sierra in an amphitheatre at the base of Red Mountain and Merced Peak at the headwaters of the Merced River. He also climbed to the top of Mount Lyell and, at the end of the summer, was familiar with every canyon and lake in the upper Tuolumne and Merced

⁶⁹ *The Mountains of California*, 1894; *Our National Parks*, 1909; *My First Summer in the Sierra*, 1911; and numerous articles in magazines.

regions. He descended the canyon of the Tuolumne, and in November made his first visit to Hetch Hetchy.

During most of the summer of 1872 Muir was pursuing his studies of the glacier system of the Merced and Tuolumne. With Galen Clark, he conducted a series of experiments in measuring the movement of glaciers on Mounts Lyell, Maclure and Hoffmann. He also accompanied William Keith, the artist, on a trip to Tuolumne Meadows and, leaving his friend for a few days, crossed over to Mount Ritter and, after a desperate scramble, succeeded in reaching the summit.

In 1873 Muir widened the field of his explorations and, after another visit to the upper Yosemite regions, he set out in September, accompanied by Dr. Albert Kellogg, botanist, and William Sims, artist, on a trip to the Kings River region. Galen Clark accompanied them for the first two weeks of the journey, from the Mariposa Grove to the upper San Joaquin; the others continued across the South Fork of the San Joaquin to the divide between that river and the North Fork of the Kings. From this point Muir set out on a solitary journey for a few days and climbed the highest mountain at the head of the San Joaquin, which he supposed was the one named by the Whitney Survey Mount Humphreys. His description, however, clearly indicates that he was on one of the mountains a little farther south, probably Mount Darwin. A neighboring peak he named Mount Emerson in honor of Ralph Waldo Emerson with whom he had spent several days in Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove in May 1871.

Muir rejoined his companions and, continuing to the Kings River, they descended the 7,000 foot wall into the lower canyon below the junction of the South and Middle forks and climbed out on the other side to the Converse Basin. There they observed the destruction of the sequoia and pine forests by axe, saw, and dynamite. From Thomas' Mill, they turned to the northeast and visited Kings River Canyon where, for the first time, Muir beheld this remarkable counterpart of Yosemite. Again leaving his companions for a few days, Muir climbed to the summit of what he supposed to be Mount Tyndall; but, as his description places it at the head of one of the tributaries of Kings River, he doubtless ascended what is now known as Junction Peak or possibly its neighbor, Mount Keith. Precise points of nomenclature and geological position were never of particular interest to Muir although in describing natural phenomena he was remarkably accurate. He continued his journey to the head-waters of the Kern and climbed some of the peaks between Tyndall and Whitney, very likely including the true Mount Tyndall.

Upon his return to Kings River Canyon, the party resumed their

journey up Bubbs Creek and crossed Kearsarge Pass to Independence. Muir, more active than his companions, was eager to reach Mount Whitney. As will be seen later, the location of the true Mount Whitney had been obscured for several years by mistakes of Hoffmann and King, and the error had been discovered only a few weeks before Muir and his party arrived in Owens Valley. His first journey to the mountain was with a horse by way of Cottonwood Creek. He left Independence on October 14, climbed the false Mount Whitney next day, and spent the following night without fire or food on one of the spires near the true Mount Whitney, dancing about all night to keep warm. Hampered by the care of a horse, he did not reach the summit of the highest peak, but returned to Independence. After two days of resting he set out again, this time on foot. Camping at timberline the second night, he reached the summit the following morning by 8 o'clock. In his original journal the date appears to be October 21. Here he found the records of Clarence King and Carl Rabe, the latter inscribed on a half-dollar as follows: "Notice—Gentlemen—the looky finder of this half a Dollar is wellcome to it. Carl Rabe—Sep 6th, 1873." Muir says: "Of course, I replaced these records, as well as Carl Rabe's half a dollar, but did not add my own name. I have never left my name on any mountain, rock, or tree in any wilderness I have explored or passed through, though I have spent ten years in the Sierra alone."⁷⁰

After Muir's return to Independence from this successful trip the party went north through Owens Valley to the region of Lake Tahoe.

In 1875 Muir took another extended trip through the Sierra. In June he visited the upper Yosemite region with William Keith, J. B. McChesney and John Swett, and then conducted a small party, including George B. Bayley and C. E. Washburn, on a journey south from Yosemite to the Kings River region and Mount Whitney. They followed a low route scarcely above the foothills until reaching Kings River, visited the sequoia forests and Kings River Canyon, and crossed Kearsarge Pass to Independence. Thence they ascended Mount Whitney on July 22. On their way back to Yosemite they skirted the eastern flank of the Sierra and returned by Bloody Canyon and Mono Pass.

The remainder of the summer was devoted to the famous journey through the forest belt from Yosemite south to the Sequoia groves of the Kaweah and Tule River regions, described in "Our National Parks." It was on this trip that Muir met Hale Tharp and camped with him

⁷⁰ Letter from Muir to George W. Stewart, in Mount Whitney Club Journal, May 1903. The dates of Muir's climbs given in this letter are probably from memory, as they do not agree with the original journal.

in Tharp's hollow log near the Giant Forest; and it was probably then that Muir bestowed the name of Giant Forest on the great sequoia grove near the Marble Fork of the Kaweah.

Aroused by the destruction that he had witnessed in the forests by lumbermen and sheepmen, Muir became impressed with the urgent necessity of forest preservation, and on February 5, 1876, an article by him was published in the *Sacramento Record Union* in which he made an urgent appeal to the people of the State to take action, particularly against the devastations of the sheepmen whose flocks not only ruined the watershed but whose lawlessness was causing the destruction of the forests themselves by incendiary fires.

In 1877 Muir was again in the Kings River region of the Sierra. In November, after visiting the big trees in Converse Basin for the purpose of studying their age, he scrambled down into the lower Kings River Canyon, at a point a little above the confluence of Boulder Creek, and made his way up the very bed of the canyon into what he termed the "Kings River yosemite." Crossing the divide by Copper Creek and Granite Basin, he descended to the Middle Fork and followed the river through Tehipite Valley to a point below the junction of the Middle and South forks whence he climbed out again to Converse Basin.

This excursion ended the first and greatest period of Muir's explorations in the Sierra. Shortly thereafter he visited Alaska and from that time on travelled far and wide over the forest and mountain regions of the world. Yet throughout his life, he always turned to the Sierra Nevada as the most glorious region of all, and it was from the forests, canyons, mountains and glaciers of the Sierra that he derived the inspiration for his greatest writings and his most profound insight into the laws of nature. In "The Mountains of California" (page 5), he sings its praises:

Then it seemed to me the Sierra should be called not the Nevada, or Snowy Range, but the Range of Light. And after ten years spent in the heart of it, rejoicing and wondering, bathing in its glorious floods of light, seeing the sunbursts of morning among the icy peaks, the noonday radiance on the trees and rocks and snow, the flush of the alpenglow, and a thousand dashing waterfalls with their marvelous abundance of irised spray, it still seems to me above all others the Range of Light, the most divinely beautiful of all the mountain-chains I have ever seen.

Joseph Le Conte

For over fifty years the Le Contes, father and son, have been identified with the Sierra Nevada. Joseph Le Conte, the elder, was invited to the University of California in 1869, where for the rest of his life he taught the natural sciences in close association with his brother John.

In the summer of 1870 at the end of his first year at the University, he and one of his colleagues, Professor Frank Soulé, were invited by eight of their students to go on a camping trip. The journal of this excursion is one of the most delightful documents in the literature of the Sierra Nevada. It was first published in a limited edition in 1875 and was reprinted by the Sierra Club in 1900.⁷¹ I cannot refrain from quoting a portion of the opening paragraph, as it links together the father and son; though it may now afford a little embarrassment to the latter. Under date of July 21, 1870, the journal says "I left my home and dear ones this morning. Surely I must have a heroic and dangerous air about me, for my little baby boy shrinks from my rough flannel shirt and broad-brim hat, as did the baby son of Hector from his brazen corslet, and beamy helm, and nodding plume."

In Yosemite the University party met John Muir and welcomed him as a kindred spirit. Continuing to the higher mountains, they camped at Lake Tenaya, where the journal records what must always be a great stimulation to the imagination of those who are familiar with the thoughts of Le Conte and Muir:

After supper, I went with Mr. Muir and sat on a high rock, jutting into the lake. It was full moon. I never saw a more delightful scene. This little lake, one mile long and a half mile wide, is actually embosomed in the mountains, being surrounded by rocky eminences two thousand feet high, of the most picturesque forms, which come down to the very water's edge. The deep stillness of the night; the silvery light and deep shadows of the mountains; the reflection on the water, broken into thousands of glittering points by the ruffled surface; the gentle lapping of the wavelets upon the rocky shore—all these seemed exquisitely harmonized with each other, and the grand harmony made answering music in our hearts. Gradually the lake surface became quiet and mirror-like, and the exquisite surrounding scenery was seen double. For an hour we remained sitting in silent enjoyment of this delicious scene, which we reluctantly left to go to bed. Tenaya Lake is about eight thousand feet above sea level. The night air, therefore, is very cool.

The Tuolumne Meadows were visited and Mount Dana was climbed. The party then descended Bloody Canyon to Mono Lake and went north to Lake Tahoe.

Two years later Le Conte visited the glacier of Mount Lyell and from his observations wrote of the glacial systems of the Sierra, upholding views that Muir had expressed but which members of the Whitney Survey had treated rather severely as the rash statements of an amateur.⁷²

Joseph Le Conte made many visits to the Yosemite during the next thirty years, but it was not until 1900 that he visited Kings River Canyon, accompanied by his son and daughter. Although seventy-seven years of age, he enjoyed that outing to the utmost and it must

⁷¹ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1900, III, 1, pp. 1-107.

⁷² Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences, 1872, IV, p. 159; American Journal of Science, Third Series, 1873, V, p. 332.

have been one of the culminating spiritual experiences of his life. The following year, on a visit to Yosemite, while in apparently good health, he was suddenly stricken and died in the Valley on July 6.⁷³ Shortly afterwards the Sierra Club erected a beautiful stone Lodge in the Valley in his memory.

Mount Whitney

From the time when Mount Whitney was first seen and named by the Brewer party of the Whitney Survey in 1864, and the two unsuccessful attempts of Clarence King to reach its summit the same year, it seems to have been neglected until 1871. In that year, King, no longer connected with the State Survey, took the stage south from Carson City by way of Aurora to Independence and Lone Pine; whence, with Paul Pinson, whom he had engaged to accompany him, he set out for the mountain.⁷⁴ King had with him a sketch made from a map prepared by Hoffmann, who had spent the summer of 1870 in the Owens Valley. Hoffmann had observed the mountains only from the valley and was thus led into an error which anyone visiting the region of Lone Pine can readily appreciate; for Mount Whitney stands back of other more prominent peaks and appears lower than some of its neighbors, so that Hoffmann, partly influenced by inaccurate bearings, placed the name Mount Whitney on his map too far to the south.⁷⁵

After a night near timberline, King and Pinson set out for the summit. As they climbed, clouds closed in upon them and by the time they stood on the crest they were able to obtain only a few intermittent views of the surrounding peaks. They could see down into the Kern Canyon and recognize Mount Brewer and, for a moment, they caught sight of what King supposed to be Mount Tyndall, but which was probably the true Mount Whitney.⁷⁶

Two years later, King was rather severely taken to task by W. A. Goodyear for describing a view which he never saw;⁷⁷ nevertheless a careful reading of King's account convinces me that his description fits the situation very well. King undoubtedly thought himself upon the summit of the highest peak in the range, but, unable to take accurate bearings because of the clouds, he did the best he could to describe

⁷³ Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte, edited by William Dallam Armes, 1903; Frank Soulé, in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1902, IV, 1, pp. 1-11.

⁷⁴ King: *Mountaineering*, 1874, pp. 264-275.

⁷⁵ James D. Hague, in *Overland Monthly*, November 1873.

⁷⁶ King: *Mountaineering*, 1874, pp. 276-278.

⁷⁷ Goodyear, in *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences*, 1873-74, V, 139-144.

the view as he really saw it. As a matter of fact, the view from the point on which he stood—which was the summit of what is now known as Mount Langley, is not at all dissimilar to the view from the summit of the true Mount Whitney when seen through the shifting mists of a stormy day. Of course, King made the most of all of the difficulties of the route, both ascending and descending, and had many narrow escapes which modern travellers with the way marked out and a good contour map can easily avoid, and which a better mountaineer than King would have avoided without these aids. The fact that King had not been on the summit of the true Mount Whitney detracts not at all from his reference to Josiah Dwight Whitney: "There stand for him two monuments,—one a great report made by his own hand; another the loftiest peak in the Union, begun for him in the planet's youth and sculptured of enduring granite by the slow hand of Time."⁷⁸

After King's ascent, a number of parties followed the same route and no doubt supposed that they too were upon the highest peak, although they may have been perplexed by seeing one that was apparently higher a few miles away toward the north. The ease with which the ascent could be accomplished must also have been a surprise to those who had heard of King's desperate effort to reach the summit in 1864. Indeed, on August 6, 1872, Cyrus Mulkey, Sheriff of Inyo County, accompanied by his wife and daughter, rode to the summit in the saddle. But it was not until July 27, 1873, when W. A. Good-year, a member of the State Geological Survey, and M. W. Belshaw, a mining man from Cerro Gordo, rode their mules to the same crest, that the difference in altitude between the peak on which they stood and the one a few miles to the north was detected. The news was at once given out that Mount Whitney was not the highest peak of the Sierra at all, and Goodyear communicated his findings to the California Academy of Sciences, sending a letter which was read at a meeting of August 4, 1873.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, the discovery stimulated a rivalry in Owens Valley and several parties hastened to climb the reported higher peak. The credit for the first ascent is usually given to John Lucas, Charles D. Begole, and A. H. Johnson, whose record of August 18 was still on the summit when members of the Wheeler Survey visited it two years later.⁸⁰ By right of first ascent, they attempted to fix the name of "Fisherman's Peak" to the mountain. The best way to dispose of this attempted

⁷⁸ King: *Mountaineering*, 1874, p. 281.

⁷⁹ *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences*, 1873-74, V, pp. 139-144.

⁸⁰ U. S. *Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian*, I, *Geographical Report*, 1889, p. 100.

nomenclature is to quote from a letter written by W. A. Goodyear on July 30, 1888 to the editor of the *Inyo Independent*:⁸¹

I do wish, however, to add a few words concerning the discreditable "Fisherman's Peak" affair. It appears that when Prof. Whitney was in Owens Valley himself in 1872 for the purpose of studying the effects of the great earthquake of March 26th of that year, he became quite unpopular with a good many people in the Valley, some of whom took a very strong personal dislike for him. When, therefore, a year later it was suddenly discovered that a lower mountain had for three years been called Mt. Whitney by mistake, some of these people thought it would be a fine opportunity for revenge upon the man whom they disliked by making his name stick to the lower peak forever and calling the highest one something else. Therefore they dubbed Mt. Whitney "Fisherman's Peak," and tried hard and long to make it stick. But it will not stick.

Mt. Whitney was named, and almost climbed by Clarence King in 1864, and was described by him in 1865. It is the highest mountain in the country, and Mt. Whitney it will remain! The "Sheep Mountain" was also named by King in 1864, and that name will adhere to it. The other high peaks in that neighborhood have names given to them many years ago, so that there is no place nor habitation in these mountains for any such name as "Fisherman's Peak"—which will doubtless fall into the utter oblivion which it deserves.

The news of his mistake and the criticism that had been directed against him reached Clarence King in the east and he lost no time in visiting the scene himself. From Visalia he came over the Hockett Trail to Kern Canyon and at length succeeded in reaching the base of the true Mount Whitney. On the following morning, September 19, 1873, King, accompanied by Frank Knowles of Tulare County, stood at last upon the summit he had sought so long. There he found the records of the parties that had preceded him. He reports only two: first Hunter and Crapo, second Rabe.⁸² Hague gives the credit of the first ascent to Crapo and a companion (presumably Hunter), on August 15, but the claim of Lucas, Begole and Johnson has been generally accepted.

Following the discovery of Goodyear and Belshaw, it became a matter of great interest to determine the altitude of the new highest peak. Belshaw financed an expedition for this purpose, and Carl Rabe, an assistant in the State Geological Survey, carried a barometer to the summit on September 6. He was accompanied by William Crapo, William L. Hunter, and Thomas McDonough. From Rabe's account it would not appear that Crapo and Hunter had been on the mountain before. He says they were the first of his party to reach the summit on that day and this may account for King's version of their record.⁸³

From Rabe's readings Goodyear calculated the elevation above the sea to be 14,898.5 feet. Subsequent measurements were as follows: Wheeler Survey (1875), 14,471; Langley (1881), 14,522; McAdie

⁸¹ Reprinted in Eighth Annual Report of the State Mineralogist, 1888, pp. 231-232.

⁸² King: *Mountaineering*, 1874, pp. 281-293.

⁸³ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1911, VIII, 2, pp. 137-138.

and Le Conte (1903), 14,515; United States Geological Survey (1905), 14,501. The last was from precise levels and is regarded as the most accurate. Although the heights of several of the highest peaks in the United States have gone up and down in the records as the reports of the several surveys have been announced, Mount Whitney has managed to hold its lead and today it is established beyond a doubt as the highest point within the forty-eight states of the Union, exceeded only in the territory of the United States by the mountains of Alaska. Mount Elbert in Colorado stands second with an elevation of 14,420, and Mount Rainier in Washington third at 14,408 feet.

Mount Whitney may have been climbed during the season of 1874, but the records reported by the Wheeler Survey show nothing between King's ascent of September 19, 1873, and the names of Belshaw, Crapo, and Johnson on July 7, 1875, Muir's name not being inscribed on the occasion of his visit on October 21, 1873. On July 22, 1875, John Muir, George B. Bayley, and C. E. Washburn left their names, Muir's doubtless being written by one of the other members of the party. Members of the Wheeler Survey were on the summit September 24, 1875 and again on October 13, and J. M. Hutchings of Yosemite and W. E. James were there October 3.⁸⁴ The record reported by the Wheeler Survey makes no mention of Rabe's half-dollar, which by this time had probably been appropriated by someone who cared more for this world's goods than did John Muir.

One of the most interesting episodes in the history of Mount Whitney is the visit in August and September 1881 of a party under Samuel Pierpont Langley, then director of the Allegheny Observatory, later Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, famous as well for his experiment in aviation. His principal assistants were J. E. Keeler and W. C. Day, both afterwards prominent in astronomical work. Captain Otto E. Michaelis and a few soldiers acted as escort. The results of Langley's researches on solar heat were published in a report under the auspices of the United States Army Signal Service.⁸⁵ In that report is a map of a proposed military reservation embracing the crest of the Sierra from Mount Williamson to Sheep Mountain (named Mount Langley in 1905). This reservation for the purpose of a signal station was declared established by proclamation of President Arthur, September 26, 1883.

⁸⁴ U. S. Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, I, Geographical Report, 1889, p. 100.

⁸⁵ Researches on Solar Heat. By S. P. Langley. Professional Papers of the Signal Service, No. XV, 1884; see also, Sunlight Mysteries, by William C. Wyckhoff, in Harpers Magazine, June 1883.

Mount Whitney was again used for scientific observations a number of years later. Alexander G. McAdie, Professor of Meteorology in the University of California, made a report on the mountain at the request of the Chief of the United States Weather Bureau in 1903, and declared it as possibly the most suitable of all the extremely high peaks on the Pacific Coast for a meteorological observatory.⁸⁶

With the object of continuing Langley's work on solar heat and for other purposes, Dr. William Wallace Campbell of the Lick Observatory and Dr. C. G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institution made a preliminary trip to the summit of Mount Whitney in August 1908 and spent the night on the summit. As a result of their report, the Smithsonian Institution authorized the building of a small observatory and shelter. This was erected in July 1909 under the supervision of G. F. Marsh of Lone Pine, and in August of that year Campbell, Abbot and McAdie spent about a week on the summit making observations. Dr. Campbell was particularly successful in his observations of the planet Mars.⁸⁷ The Smithsonian Institution continued the studies during 1910 and 1913.

The first record of any woman climbing Mount Whitney appears to be that of a party from Porterville which ascended the peak August 3, 1878 and included Miss Anna Mills, later Mrs. Johnston, who wrote an account of the trip many years later in the Mount Whitney Club Journal.

The Wheeler Survey

One of the several western surveys carried on during the decade prior to the establishment of the United States Geological Survey was entitled the United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian and was in charge of Captain George M. Wheeler under direction of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army. A considerable amount of general topographical work was done in the northern part of the Sierra Nevada and observations, already mentioned, were made on Mount Whitney in 1875, the latter by a party under command of Lieutenant Rogers Birnie.

Explorations in the Yosemite region were made in 1878 and 1879 by Lieutenant Montgomery Meigs Macomb, assisted by J. C. Spiller, topographer. Macomb and Spiller occupied a number of the higher peaks including Dunderberg, Conness, Lyell, Hoffmann, Merced, and Clark. The results of their work were compiled in what was for many

⁸⁶ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1904, V, 2, pp. 87-97.

⁸⁷ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1910, VII, 3, pp. 141-148; Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1910, pp. 65-66.

years to come the standard map of the Yosemite region. A list of altitudes of Yosemite peaks and waterfalls was also published.⁸⁸

Frank Dusy

The discovery of Tehipite Valley in the canyon of the Middle Fork of Kings River is credited to Frank Dusy. In 1869, while hunting on Crown Creek, he wounded a bear and, in the traditional manner, followed it to a new discovery. The bear made off down Crown Creek and Dusy pursued it to the brink of a cliff over which the bear tumbled. Dusy took off his shoes and walked barefoot along a ledge until he could reach a big oak by which he climbed down. Below he found the bear, by this time deceased. After continuing to the bottom of the canyon, Dusy climbed out through a wooded region not far from where the trail was subsequently built.

Frank Dusy was a very unusual man and deserves a prominent place in the annals of the Sierra. He was about the only stockman of his day who took an interest in the mountains for reasons other than to find green feed. Born in Canada in 1836, he lived for a while in Maine and Boston, and came to California in 1858. He tried mining in Tuolumne County for a while and moved to Fresno County in 1864. After various occupations, including that of portrait photographer, he settled down to farming and stock-raising near Fowler. He established a summer home in the mountains between the San Joaquin and Kings rivers. This he called "Dinkey" from the name of his little dog.

Dusy was the first to explore the upper basin of the Middle Fork of Kings River. In 1877 he ascended as far as the Palisades, and in 1879 he brought a bulky studio camera into Tehipite and took the first photograph ever made of Tehipite Dome. On this occasion he was accompanied by Lil A. Winchell who still recalls the excitement of developing the wet plates in an improvised dark-room beside a small creek. That Dusy, a man whose efforts were primarily engaged in raising sheep and cattle, should take such extraordinary trouble is an interesting comment on the enthusiasm aroused by Sierra scenery in all manner of people.

An interesting, though confused, account of Dusy is given in a remarkable paper-covered pamphlet entitled "A Guide to the Grand and Sublime Scenery of the Sierra Nevada in the Region about Mount Whitney," published in 1883 by W. W. Elliott & Company, San Francisco. Part of the contents appeared in Elliott's *History of Fresno*

⁸⁸ Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, War Department, for 1879, Appendix 00, pp. 2210-2144, 2233-2238; *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1918, X, 3, plate opp. p. 369.

County the year before; but there are some notable additions, especially the lithographic plates of Tehipite Dome and Silver Spray Falls and some drawings by Gustav Eisen made on a trip into the Sierra in 1875. The view of Tehipite is from Dusy's first photograph. Aside from these two publications most of the information about Dusy comes from correspondence with Lil A. Winchell, now living in Clovis.

Wallace, Wales and Wright

In the same little guide-book that gives us the information about Dusy and Tehipite, there is considerable information about the Upper Kern River region derived from accounts furnished by Captain James William Abert Wright. In 1881 he made a trip to Mount Whitney with William B. Wallace (now Judge of the Superior Court of Tulare County), and the Reverend F. H. Wales. The three spent a night on the summit of Mount Whitney in company with members of Langley's party.⁸⁹ They then climbed Kaweah Peak and visited the head-waters of the Kern. A number of the peaks and canyons were named on this trip and the names are shown on Wright's map which was published both in Elliott's History of Fresno County and in the "Guide." Although several of these names are appropriate and certainly have the right of priority, they have lapsed from use or have been superseded because the publications were not known to those who made subsequent maps. A few of the names remain, however, such as Mounts Young, Hitchcock, and Guyot.

Wallace made his first excursion in the Sierra in 1876 and still continues an active interest in the mountains, recently delivering an inspiring Fourth of July address from the brow of Moro Rock, whence he could look off up the Kaweah canyons to the scenes of his expeditions of nearly fifty years ago. He was one of the most active men in the Mineral King mining excitement of 1879, and for the next few years searched the Kings-Kern Divide and the head-waters of the Kaweah for signs of gold, silver, and copper. It was on one of these expeditions that he located and named his Cloud Mine, from which came the name Cloud Creek, the easterly branch of Roaring River.⁹⁰ In 1889, in company with D. K. Zumwalt and John R. Zumwalt, he descended the Kings River from the upper canyon to a point below the junction of the South and Middle forks. Supposing that they would be able to go through in one day, they were surprised to find themselves entangled in almost insurmountable difficulties and only emerged after a battle of five days.

⁸⁹ Wallace, in Mount Whitney Club Journal, 1902, pp. 1-12.

⁹⁰ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1924, XII, 1, pp. 47-48.

Lil A. Winchell

Lil A. Winchell, son of the E. C. Winchell who visited Kings River Canyon in 1868, became devoted to the Sierra as a young man and soon came to know its remoter regions perhaps better than any man of his time. After his visit to Tehipite with Dusy in 1879 he spent five months in the High Sierra, part of the time with Louis W. Davis, a prospector whom he induced to accompany him. Mountain summits were more in evidence than metals, and while this may have been disappointing to the prospector it was eminently satisfactory to Winchell. On September 23, 1879, they made the first ascent of Mount Goddard.⁹¹ Winchell's knowledge of the High Sierra was later of great value to Theodore S. Solomons and Joseph N. Le Conte in preparing the first detailed maps of the Middle and North Forks of Kings River.

Mining Ventures

It is only in recent years that the hope of discovering rich mining districts in the upper regions of the Sierra seems to have definitely subsided. The Kearsarge and Mineral King excitements have already been mentioned. The next wave of excitement developed about the year 1878 when prospectors staked out claims all over the main crest of the Sierra from Mammoth Pass at the head-waters of the San Joaquin to the northern tributaries of the Tuolumne.

The Mammoth excitement began in the spring of 1878, and two towns known as Mammoth City and Pine City attained a total population of about 1,500 in the following year.⁹² The Minaret mining district, a little farther west, was established in 1878. As in a great many other mining districts, the amount of capital required to develop the mines and the cost of transporting the ore to the mills was too great for the quality of ore developed, and few of these mines continued active production for more than three or four years. Large deposits of iron were found in the Minaret region, and the time may still come when this ore will be mined, provided roads are developed. A survey for a railroad was actually made over the Mammoth Pass route in 1881, and it is surprising indeed that this pass has not been utilized as one of the routes across the Sierra.

From 1879 to 1888 operations were carried on in the Homer mining district, principally in the May Lundy mine. At one time there was a substantial mining town at Lundy. The temporary success of the May Lundy mine led to the development of operations higher up

⁹¹ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1923, XI, 4, p. 398.

⁹² *Report of the State Mineralogist*, 1888, p. 373.

on the crest of the Sierra at the Tioga mine. As early as 1860, a sheepherder had located a mine not far from the present Tioga Pass, but it was not until 1881 that extensive development was carried on. At that time the Great Sierra Consolidated Silver Mining Company was incorporated and during the next two years a wagon road was constructed to connect the mines with the roads leading westward into the San Joaquin Valley joining the Big Oak Flat road at Crocker's Station, a total length of about 56 miles, at a cost of about \$61,000. Its eastern terminus was the town of Bennettsville, named for the president of the company, and situated near the Tioga mine, but Bennettsville and the mine soon faded from the scene and only the road remained as a monument to the type of enterprise that has ruined many an investor.⁹³ In 1888 a few of the eastern stockholders bought the entire property at sheriff's sale and after several attempts to resume operations at the mine, the property was practically abandoned until in 1915 Stephen T. Mather, who had just been invited to take charge of the national parks under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, recognized the value of the road for tourist travel and, largely through his own contributions, purchased it from heirs of the original stockholders and turned it over to the federal government for the benefit of the public.

Early Settlers in the High Sierra

Before the National Forest Reserves and the National Parks were established, a few pioneers staked out their claims in the regions of the Sierra above the settlements. Some of these men explored the mountains far and wide, but as they seldom made known what they saw, only a brief mention of a few of them will be made here.

One interesting pioneer of this period was John Baptist Lember, a strange sort of hermit who took up a quarter-section of land in Tuolumne Meadows in 1885 as a homestead. His claim included the Soda Springs and the meadow land across the river. Lember had lived for a time in and around Yosemite and conceived the idea of raising fine breeds of goats in the High Sierra. He built a log cabin on his claim and lived there with his goats for several years, both winter and summer, until the heavy storms in the winter of 1889-1890 forced him to flee to Yosemite and abandon his goats. With the loss of his stock, he took to collecting butterflies and botanical specimens, which he sold to museums. His career ended in a tragedy in the winter of 1896-97 when his body was found in a cabin near Cascade Creek below Yosemite

⁹³ Report of the State Mineralogist, 1888, pp. 367-371; R. S. Kuykendall, in *Handbook of Yosemite National Park* by Ansel F. Hall, 1921, p. 26; Report of the Commission on Roads in Yosemite National Park, Senate Document No. 155, 56th Congress, 1st Session, February 8, 1900.

Valley, bearing the unmistakable signs of murder. The Lemberg claim, which had been patented in 1895, was purchased in 1912 by members of the Sierra Club.⁹⁴

John L. Murphy, a well-known guide of Yosemite Valley, secured a preemption patent on 160 acres on the shores of Lake Tenaya in 1886. An interesting account of Murphy is given in Helen Hunt Jackson's "Bits of Travel at Home."

William Helm, for a time a partner of Frank Dusy, settled near the North Fork of Kings River. Helms Meadow bears his name. Collins, Shippe, Woods and others are likewise identified with the central regions of the Sierra. George Fiske of Sanger built a cabin at his mine on Cartridge Creek; Poly A. Kanawyer and D. K. Zumwalt established themselves in Kings River Canyon; and Jesse B. Agnew stills spends his summers at Horse Corral Meadow.

In the Kaweah region the pioneers were less permanently established in the higher country as it was easier to make short excursions from the valley. Hale Tharp has already been mentioned. Prominent among others were Joseph Palmer, William Clough, and James Wolverton.

Strangest of all was the project of the Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth Colony, a socialist enterprise for which an earthly paradise was promised in the prospectuses and advertisements, but which ended with convictions in the courts. The essence of the proposal was: a purely socialistic colony was to be established on the Kaweah River; a road was to be built by labor of the colonists up to the Giant Forest; the trees were then to be cut, sawed into lumber at the colony mill, and sold for a handsome price; the laborers were to receive wages in paper time-checks, redeemable at the colony store for merchandise—real money was an abhorrence save as it came into the treasury from the outside world. The first part of this program was carried out. The road was built nearly to Giant Forest and is still in use. But the titles to the timber lands were dubious and, luckily for future generations, none of the big trees were cut. The collapse of the scheme was hastened by internal discord and fraud on the part of the promoters and the Co-operative Colony faded from the scene in 1891.⁹⁵

Further Scientific Explorations

Following the State Geological Survey and the Wheeler Survey, there were several other scientific explorations of the Sierra. The

⁹⁴ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1913, IX, 1, pp. 36-39.

⁹⁵ Visalia Delta, November and December 1891; Kaweah: How and Why the Colony Died, by Burnette G. Haskell, in Out West, September 1902; San Francisco Examiner, November 29, 1891.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey under George Davidson made a reconnaissance of the northern Sierra Nevada in 1879 and at that time signals were exchanged between stations on the summits of Round Top, near Lake Tahoe, and Mount Conness. A further reconnaissance from Mount Conness was carried on in 1887, and in 1890 it was occupied for a considerable period by a large party of the Survey. The remains of a small observing station are still to be found on the summit.⁹⁶

The United States Geological Survey, organized in 1879 with Clarence King as its first Chief, proceeded to gather together all of the activities carried on by the several independent surveys that had been occupying the western field for the preceding ten years. A systematic survey of the Sierra Nevada was not begun until about fifteen years later, but in 1882 and 1883 an intensive study was made of the region embracing Mount Lyell and Mount Ritter and Mono Lake. This work was carried on by Israel C. Russell, assisted by Willard D. Johnson as topographer, and under the general supervision of Grove Karl Gilbert. During the course of the field work, Russell and Gilbert visited the glaciers of Mount Dana and Mount Lyell, and Johnson made observations from the summits of Mounts Conness, Maclure, and Ritter.

In these explorations, particularly those dealing with the glaciers of Mounts Lyell, Dana, and Ritter, many of the findings of Muir and Joseph Le Conte in 1872 were confirmed.⁹⁷

A New Epoch

By the year 1890 the main features of the Sierra Nevada had been pretty thoroughly explored and intensive studies had been made of many important sections. The mining possibilities had been exploited from one end of the crest to the other, with momentary periods of success but ultimate failure. A number of the high peaks had been ascended and all of the principal canyons had at least been visited. Yet, if one were to attempt to compile the reliable information existing in published form at that time, he would find little beyond the writings of John Muir, the publications of the Whitney Survey, a few tables published by the Wheeler Survey, and the recent monographs of Israel C. Russell.

As for maps, the only ones obtainable were the Whitney and Wheeler Survey sheets and the detailed studies of Russell and Johnson in the Mount Lyell and Mount Ritter region. No reliable details whatever of the sources of the San Joaquin, the Kings, and the Kern

⁹⁶ George Davidson, in *Overland Monthly*, February 1892.

⁹⁷ Fifth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, 1883-84, pp. 31-32, 303-328; Eighth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, 1886-87, I, pp. 261-394; *Glaciers of North America*, by Israel C. Russell, 1897, pp. 37-54.

rivers were available. Even the Yosemite maps prepared by the Wheeler Survey were useful only for their main features and the details had to be supplied by later surveys.

The possibilities of recreational enjoyment in the High Sierra seemed to be almost forgotten since the early enthusiasm inspired by the writings of King, Muir, and Le Conte. The remote recesses of the range were practically given over to the sheepmen, and in the timber belt destruction was steadily going on among the big trees. The management of Yosemite Valley by the State was beginning to excite unfavorable comment and, in short, the year 1890 may be said to mark the lowest point in the welfare of the Sierra as a permanent asset of the State and Nation.

A new generation now came forward, and in the next decade the Sierra was thoroughly explored from one end to the other. Vacancies in the maps were filled in and a great many valuable contributions were made to several branches of the natural sciences. The leaders in this new period of exploration were members of the United States Geological Survey, officers of the United States Army on duty in the national parks, and members of the Sierra Club. Their work was supplemented by that of a number of other groups and individuals.

The National Parks

Until 1890, with the exception of the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove, none of the public lands in the Sierra Nevada had been withdrawn from entry and reserved for public use, excepting by occasional temporary orders. It now became apparent to men of vision that the entire watershed of the Sierra was so valuable for the general welfare that its exploitation for private gain would be an irreparable injury. John Muir was foremost in urging the people of the country to protect their property before it was too late. In the summer of 1889 he accompanied Robert Underwood Johnson of the *Century Magazine* on a trip to Yosemite and the Tuolumne Meadows, and enlisted his aid. In the following summer two articles by Muir appeared in the *Century Magazine*.⁹⁸

At about the same time the threatened destruction of the big trees of the Giant Forest by the Kaweah colonists and other timber claimants aroused the public-spirited men of Tulare County and, led by George W. Stewart, Frank J. Walker, D. K. Zumwalt, John Tuohy, Tipton Lindsey, and others, they succeeded in having the big tree lands withdrawn from entry pending action by Congress. The California Academy of Sciences, with the assistance of Dr. Gustav Eisen, took up

⁹⁸ *Treasures of the Yosemite*, in *Century Magazine*, August 1890; *Features of the Proposed Yosemite National Park*, in *Century Magazine*, September 1890.

the campaign and a bill proposing a national park was introduced by Representative William Vandever and enacted September 25, 1890. A few days later General Vandever's bill establishing the Yosemite National Park came up and on the tide of success an amendment was added practically doubling the Sequoia National Park and tacking on the General Grant National Park for good measure. This bill was enacted October 1, 1890.

By this act the Yosemite National Park was constituted from territory surrounding Yosemite Valley embracing most of the upper watersheds of the Merced and Tuolumne rivers and part of the upper San Joaquin. The Valley itself remained under management of the State of California until receded to the federal government by act of the state legislature of March 3, 1905, and accepted by joint resolution of Congress June 11, 1906, after which it was consolidated with the national park. An adjustment of boundaries was made by act of February 7, 1905, by which the portion of the park in the San Joaquin watershed was eliminated and the northern tributaries of the Tuolumne added. A considerable portion of the forest lands in the western portion of the original park was in private ownership before 1890, and in 1905 this area was also eliminated.

The establishment of the national parks had an important effect on the exploration of the Sierra as it placed upon the government a responsibility for protection and management. No provision was made, however, in the enactments for guarding and maintaining the parks other than placing them under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior. Following a precedent recently established in the Yellowstone National Park, the Secretary called upon the War Department for assistance, and from 1891 until 1914 the administration was in the hands of officers of the Army with troops of cavalry detailed for patrol and other duties.

The first superintendent of Sequoia National Park was Captain Joseph Haddox Dorst, 4th Cavalry, who was in charge in 1891 and 1892. In Yosemite the first superintendent was Captain Abram Epperson Wood, 4th Cavalry, in charge from 1891 until his death in the spring of 1894. These two officers inaugurated a regime of vigorous protection of the public interests, which was ably maintained by their successors.

McClure, Davis and Benson

The greatest difficulties at first were in convincing the sheep and cattle owners that the rights of the public were paramount in the public domain. Free grazing had been going on for so long that the stockmen considered the territory their own. The pursuit of these

trespassers gave the army men some of the thrills of real warfare. The greatest deterrent proved to be the plan of scattering the trespassing sheep over the boundary on one side of the park and conducting the herders over the opposite boundary many days' journey away. Lieutenant Harry C. Benson became the greatest exponent of this strategy, first in Sequoia and later Yosemite.⁹⁹ In both parks the administration was hampered by the lack of detailed maps showing definitely the boundaries established by Congress. The superintendents, therefore, set about making their own maps and were fortunate in the assistance of such capable and enthusiastic officers as Lieutenants Nathaniel F. McClure, Harry C. Benson, and Milton F. Davis. McClure prepared a map of Yosemite published in 1896, which was added to and corrected in the following year by Benson. About the same time, Davis made a reconnaissance of the region surrounding Sequoia National Park and prepared an excellent map. In 1899 Lieutenant Henry B. Clark brought out an improved map of the Sequoia National Park region, and in 1900 the boundaries of that park were accurately surveyed by Isaac M. Chapman.

McClure contributed a great deal to the knowledge of the upper Yosemite region. He made several trips in 1894 and 1895 north of the Tuolumne River exploring the canyons and endeavoring to find a satisfactory route through this northern section of the park to connect Tuolumne Meadows and Hetch Hetchy. Sergeant Alvin Arndt had made a preliminary reconnaissance in 1893. McClure also searched for a route across the head-waters of the Merced into the North Fork of the San Joaquin, and was successful in finding a pass near Triple Divide Peak which he named Isberg Pass for one of his men who discovered it.¹⁰⁰

Lieutenant Davis was in Yosemite from 1891 to 1893 and during that time travelled far and wide through the upper parts of the park gathering valuable information about sheep-herders' trails and passes. In 1896 he was stationed in Sequoia National Park.

In Yosemite, Lieutenant Benson not only continued the map-making begun by McClure, but took the lead in stocking the upper waters of the Merced and the Tuolumne with trout largely supplied from the hatchery at Wawona. William F. Breeze and Lieutenant William R. Smedberg rendered valuable assistance. A few years later Benson, then a major, returned to Yosemite as superintendent, serving from 1905 to 1908.

⁹⁹ Annual Reports of the Acting-Superintendents, Sequoia National Park, and Yosemite National Park, 1891-1897; California Alpine Club Trails, 1923, pp. 27-30.

¹⁰⁰ McClure, in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1895, I, 5, pp. 168-186; 1896, I, 8, pp. 330-335.

The Sierra Club

The Sierra Club was established in 1892 "To explore, enjoy and render accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast; to publish authentic information concerning them; to enlist the support and co-operation of the people and the Government in preserving the forests and other natural features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains."

The charter members were energetic and enthusiastic and at once set about accomplishing to the best of their abilities the purposes of the Club. They loved the mountains and they loved the adventures of exploring unknown canyons and climbing hitherto unscaled peaks. It would be impossible even to enumerate all the pioneering trips undertaken by this group, but some of them were so important in the development of reliable information and in the production of maps that they should be given more than passing mention.

The annals of the Sierra Club are contained in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, issued at first semi-annually, later once a year. Since its beginning in 1893 the *Bulletin* has been filled with interesting material, covering a more varied field than most mountaineering journals.

Theodore S. Solomons¹⁰¹

One of the most energetic of the Sierra Club explorers was Theodore Seixas Solomons who spent many months in the High Sierra from 1892 to 1897. To him more than anyone else is due the credit of determining correctly the courses of the upper branches of the San Joaquin. In 1892, accompanied by Joseph Le Conte and Sidney I. Peixotto, he crossed from Mount Lyell by way of Rush Creek to the base of Mount Ritter and ascended the peak. A few weeks later he returned alone and after again climbing the mountain continued to the canyon of Fish Creek, and thence by way of Balloon Dome to the Miller and Lux bridge on the San Joaquin. This trip resulted in a great addition to the knowledge of the North and Middle forks of the San Joaquin.

In 1894 Solomons made a trip with Leigh Bierce, going from Wawona to Mono Creek, where they visited and named Vermilion Valley. Thence they crossed over to Bear Creek and climbed the beautiful mountain which they named Seven Gables. They were forced by a snow storm to abandon their outfit and escape from the mountains at the end of September, by way of Ockenden's.

¹⁰¹ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1894, I, 3, pp. 61-84, 1895, I, 6, pp. 221-237, 1896, I, 7, pp. 287-288; *Appalachia*, January 1896, pp. 41-57; *Overland Monthly*, May, June, August, November, 1896, and January, August, 1897.

The next year, 1895, Solomons took his most notable trip, in company with Ernest C. Bonner. Ascending the South Fork of the San Joaquin they came to that splendid mass of mountains now designated the Evolution Group from the names bestowed upon them by Solomons. The grandest and highest of all he called Mount Darwin, and to the others he gave the names of Haeckel, Wallace, Fiske, Spencer, and Huxley. He and Bonner climbed Mount Wallace but were unsuccessful in an attempt to scale Mount Darwin. On recent maps the name of Mount Wallace has been transposed from the point on the main crest just south of Mount Haeckel, to which it was originally given by Solomons, to the westerly ridge of Mount Darwin. Continuing their explorations, Solomons and Bonner ascended Mount Goddard, whence they made their way down to Simpson Meadow by North Goddard Creek, and were the first to make this section known.

Solomons' excursions in the next two years added a few details here and there to the knowledge of Sierra topography, but his principal contribution was a remarkably accurate map which he draughted and presented to the Sierra Club in 1896.

Bolton Coit Brown¹⁰²

Bolton Coit Brown, Professor of Fine Arts at Stanford University, devoted his attention mainly to the sources of Kings River. In 1895, after a trip in Kings River Canyon and a vain attempt to reach the summit of Mount King, he crossed to Simpson Meadow and ascended Mount Woodworth; thence he made his way up Cartridge Creek and returned to the head-waters of the South Fork of Kings River. Here he observed and named Split Mountain, Striped Mountain, and Arrow Peak, and returned to Kings River Canyon by way of Paradise Valley. In the following year, accompanied by his wife, Lucy Fletcher Brown, he again visited Kings River Canyon and joined Joseph N. Le Conte in a successful ascent of Mount Gardner. After a visit to Mount Brewer, he and Mrs. Brown crossed the Kings-Kern Divide and climbed Mount Williamson. A little later, Brown made the first ascent of Mount Stanford and gave it its name. He concluded the season with a successful ascent of Mount King after a daring solitary climb.

Three years later, in 1899, Mr. and Mrs. Brown returned to the Kings River region, bringing with them their two year old daughter, who seemed to enjoy the entire trip and was undoubtedly the most youthful pioneer of the High Sierra. From camp at Bullfrog Lake near Kearsarge Pass, they explored the basin to the north with its many lakes and remarkable granite formations, naming one of them The Fin.

¹⁰² Sierra Club Bulletin, 1896, I, 7, pp. 241-253, 289; 1896, I, 8, pp. 293-313; 1897, II, 1, pp. 17-28; 1897, II, 2, pp. 90-98; 1900, III, 2, pp. 135-149.

Professor Brown made a series of admirable sketches of the mountain summits, which appear in the *Sierra Club Bulletin* accompanied by a number of charts showing his routes and the names which he gave to many of the landmarks. A number of these names survive on present maps, but unfortunately a few, such as Flying Cloud Pass and Castilleja Lake, have disappeared.

Joseph N. Le Conte¹⁰³

The third great explorer of the Sierra Club group was Joseph N. Le Conte, son of Joseph Le Conte whose connection with the Sierra has already been told. The younger Le Conte began his Sierra explorations in 1889 when he visited the upper regions of Yosemite with his father and ascended Mount Dana and Mount Lyell. From that time to the present day he has been active in Sierra exploration and has been the leading contributor to the knowledge of the High Sierra. Not content with exploring and making sketch-maps, Le Conte recognized the value of a truly scientific exploration and early in his career began a series of observations to get accurate bearings from the high peaks. Combining this scientific knowledge with the information furnished by Solomons, McClure, and other map-makers, Le Conte published through the Sierra Club a series of maps which were greatly appreciated by all visitors to the Sierra prior to the publication of the quadrangles of the United States Geological Survey. Le Conte supplemented his maps with the finest collection of photographs of the high mountain regions that has ever been brought together. Many of these pictures, taken twenty-five or thirty years ago, are still in demand as illustrations for publications on the mountains of California.

Some of Le Conte's most notable excursions were: 1896, when with Miss Helen Marion Gompertz (later Mrs. Le Conte) and others, he climbed University Peak and Mount Brewer, and ascended Mount Gardner with Bolton Coit Brown; 1898, when with Clarence L. Cory he traversed the Sierra in search of a through route from Yosemite to Kings River Canyon; 1900, when he took his father on a memorable outing into the Kings River Canyon and up to Kearsarge Pass; 1902, when he explored the sources of the South Fork of Kings River after crossing from the Middle Fork by way of Cartridge Creek, ascended Split Mountain with Mrs. Le Conte, and completed the observations of Brown already mentioned; 1903, when with James S. Hutchinson and James K. Moffitt, he made first ascents of the North Palisade and Mount Sill and explored the basin of Palisade Creek; 1904, when he visited the Evolution Peaks with Grove Karl Gilbert and prospected

¹⁰³ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, numerous contributions.

a route from the head-waters of the South Fork of the San Joaquin to the Middle Fork of Kings River, later to be developed as Muir Pass; 1908, when with James S. Hutchinson and Duncan McDuffie, he made another search for a high mountain route, this time keeping much closer to the main crest than anyone had hitherto attempted.

On the expedition of 1908, the party climbed several high peaks and crossed successfully from Evolution Basin to the Middle Fork of Kings River. This feat had been performed for the first time in the preceding year by a party of the United States Geological Survey under George R. Davis. The expedition of 1908 followed very nearly the ideal High Sierra route proposed later as the John Muir Trail. After Le Conte's expedition, only one or two gaps in this route remained to be explored.

Other Sierra Club Explorers

Other pioneers of the Sierra Club group who made valuable contributions to the knowledge of the high mountains during the decade following 1892 deserve more extended mention than is possible within the present limits, but they should at least be enumerated. Among them were: Robert M. Price, Louis deF. Bartlett, Cornelius Beach Bradley, T. P. Lukens, W. L. Richardson, William R. Dudley, C. Mulholland, William L. Hunter, A. W. de la Cour Carroll, Howard Longley, M. R. Madary, Warren Gregory, Dr. Emmet Rixford, Charles A. Noble, James S. Hutchinson.

In 1899 Dr. and Mrs. David Starr Jordan, with a party of friends from Stanford University including Professor and Mrs. Elwood P. Cubberley, Professors George M. Richardson and Vernon L. Kellogg, and others, visited Kings River Canyon and climbed several of the peaks at the head-waters of Bubbs Creek.¹⁰⁴

Since 1900 the efforts of the Sierra Club explorers, supplemented by those of many independent parties, have been directed towards finding improved routes and opening up new passes. In this they have co-operated with the surveying parties, the Forest Service and the National Park Service, and with the several counties and the State of California. The culminating achievement of these endeavors was the construction of a through trail from Yosemite to Mount Whitney, dedicated by the State of California as the John Muir Trail. Under the state appropriations, trails over Muir Pass from the San Joaquin to the Kings, and Junction and Shepherd passes from the Kings to the Kern, were constructed.

¹⁰⁴ Jordan, in *Sunset Magazine*, April 1900; *The Alps of the King[s]-Kern Divide*, San Francisco, 1907; *The Days of a Man*, New York, 1922, I, pp. 650-655; *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1900, III, 1, pp. 109-111, 1900, III, 2, pp. 167-168.

Two important connecting trails remain to be built over routes discovered and tested in recent years. A way suitable for pack animals was long sought between the head-waters of Roaring River in the basin of the Kings to Kern River Canyon. Such a route had been used by sheepmen, probably with burros, but it was so difficult of access that it remained for a long time obscure. In 1912, William E. Colby, leader of the Sierra Club Outing in the Kern, led a reconnaissance that discovered a practicable route from that side, and members of the party named it Colby Pass. Afterwards he prospected the route from Roaring River. It was not until 1920, however, that a party succeeded in taking horses across. This was accomplished under the leadership of Duncan McDuffie, James S. Hutchinson, and Ernest McKee, assisted by Ralph P. Merritt.¹⁰⁵

The other important connection lies over the pass from the head-waters of the South Fork of Kings River to the head of Palisade Creek in the Middle Fork basin. This also was known to the sheepmen, but the first crossing by pack animals, other than burros, going all the way through from one basin to the other, was that of Chauncey J. Hamlin and party, with Ernest McKee, in 1921. They named the pass Mather Pass, in honor of Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service.¹⁰⁶

The United States Geological Survey

The work of the United States Geological Survey in the Sierra Nevada began in the northern section, and it was not until 1893 and 1894 that the Yosemite quadrangle was surveyed. This was followed by the Mount Lyell quadrangle in 1898 and 1899, and from that time on the work was continued towards the south until the final section of the High Sierra was completely surveyed in 1909 and the Mount Goddard quadrangle published in 1912.

The earlier work of these surveys was conducted by Robert B. Marshall who was later appointed Chief Geographer, and it was largely due to his interest and enthusiasm that the work progressed so steadily. Among others who played an important part in the field work were C. F. Urquhart and George R. Davis. Davis' topographical work in the Mount Goddard region, comprising some of the roughest and most intricate country in the United States, is a remarkable achievement, and the Mount Goddard quadrangle is a lasting monument to his great ability as a topographer.

Following the main topographical work and the publication of the

¹⁰⁵ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1921, XI, 2, pp. 128-129.

¹⁰⁶ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1922, XI, 3, p. 270; Sierra Club Bulletin, 1923, XI, 4, p. 423.

maps, a number of intensive studies were carried on by the Survey. The earlier work of Gilbert, Russell, and Johnson has already been mentioned. Grove Karl Gilbert subsequently made a number of expeditions into the High Sierra. In 1903 he was with the Sierra Club in the Kern region and in the same year revisited the Mount Lyell glacier and compared its appearance with that in 1883.¹⁰⁷ In 1904 he was with J. N. Le Conte in the Evolution Basin. He was again in the Evolution Basin in 1908 and on that occasion was accompanied by E. C. Andrews of the Geological Survey of New South Wales and by Willard D. Johnson.¹⁰⁸

The latest intensive studies of the Survey have been those of François E. Matthes, whose work in the Yosemite region is particularly noteworthy.

The United States Forest Service

The Sierra Forest Reserve was established by act of Congress February 15, 1893, after eight years of effort on the part of its advocates. The reserve embraced most of the High Sierra not already included in the national parks. As in the case of the parks, the first problem was to teach individuals that the forests were the property of the nation and that they must be administered for the best interests of the nation. By act of Congress February 1, 1905, the forest reserves were transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture and have since been known as the National Forests, administered by the Forest Service. The Sierra National Forest was divided by presidential proclamation on July 2, 1908 into two administrative units, the northern section retaining the name Sierra National Forest, the southern being designated as the Sequoia National Forest. Further subdivisions were made later.

The administration of the national forests brought a new element into the exploration of the Sierra. Trails were built, grazing and timber areas were investigated and plotted on maps, and many other beneficial activities were carried on. The names of the forest rangers and supervisors who carried on this work would make a long list and only a few of the more prominent can be selected here as representative: Sam N. L. Ellis, Charles H. Shinn, A. H. Hogue, and Richard L. P. Bigelow.

The engineers of the Forest Service, Walter Leroy Huber and his successor Frederick Hall Fowler, made thorough examinations of the water resources, supplementing the work of the Geological Survey and other engineers, for the purpose of passing on applications for water

¹⁰⁷ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1904, V, 1, pp. 23, 58; 1919, X, 4, p. 393.

¹⁰⁸ Sierra Club Bulletin, 1920, XI, 1, p. 65; 1924, XII, 1, pp. 88-90.

supply and power sites and the regulation of water users. The development of hydroelectric power in the Sierra Nevada has been summarized in a comprehensive treatise by Fowler.¹⁰⁹

In recent years one of the important contributions of the Forest Service to Sierra exploration was the assistance rendered to the State Engineer in surveying the route and supervising the construction of the John Muir Trail. In this, the knowledge and enthusiasm of Supervisor Paul G. Redington, now United States District Forester, were an important factor. Sedman W. Wynne located the route over Junction and Shepherd passes.¹¹⁰

On July 6, 1911 the Devil's Postpile, one of the finest instances of columnar basalt formation in the world, on the Middle Fork of San Joaquin River, was proclaimed by President Taft a national monument under the administration of the Forest Service.¹¹¹

Sierra Club Outings

The Sierra Club was a successful institution from the beginning, drawing to itself many ardent lovers of the mountains as well as many public spirited citizens who desired to support its objects. As the mountains became better known and access became easier, the leaders of the Club decided that something might be done to bring a larger number of its members into the High Sierra by means of an organized expedition each year. The first of these outings took place in 1901 when over one hundred members visited the Tuolumne Meadows and vicinity for several weeks. The following year a larger party went to Kings River Canyon, and in 1903 the outing was held in the Kern River region.

In spite of difficulties arising from inexperience, these outings were a success from the start and served not only to build up an enthusiastic membership of the Club but to produce vastly more knowledge of all kinds about the Sierra than could have been obtained in so short a time by any other means. The remarkably successful organization of these outings was due to a very competent Outing Committee composed of William E. Colby, Joseph N. Le Conte, and Edward T. Parsons. This committee has continued to conduct the outings annually, with only one change in membership when Clair S. Tappaan replaced Parsons after the latter's death in 1914.

With the main Sierra Club encampment as a base, it was possible

¹⁰⁹ *Hydroelectric Power Systems of California*, by Frederick Hall Fowler, U. S. Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper 493, Washington 1923, pp. xlix, 1276.

¹¹⁰ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1916, X, 1, pp. 86-92; 1917, X, 2, pp. 221-226.

¹¹¹ *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 1912, VIII, 3, pp. 170-173.

for the more enterprising of the members to take rapid excursions into the surrounding country and to conduct scientific investigations, particularly in botany and geology, under the most favorable conditions. The significance of these outings in the history of Sierra exploration is apparent in the names included in the enrollment of the first three years: John Muir, William Keith, C. Hart Merriam, Henry Gannett, Theodore H. Hittell, Charles Keeler, John Gill Lemmon, Alexander G. McAdie, Grove Karl Gilbert, Andrew C. Lawson, John Knox McLean. An interesting account of the Kings River trip in 1902, commenting particularly on these notable personalities, was published in *Out West*, November 1902, by Hugh S. Gibson, now a member of the United States Diplomatic Corps.

Mountaineering

From the days of Clarence King in 1864, the High Sierra peaks have been an attraction to mountain climbers. They present problems quite different from those of the Alps and other regions where snow and ice predominate and where sudden storms produce dangerous situations that require extreme caution. Summer storms in the Sierra are infrequent and, excepting for lightning on exposed places, are never dangerous. The larger peaks of the Sierra Nevada are granite and, saving a few snow-fields such as those on Mount Lyell and Mount Ritter, most of the difficult climbing is on the bare rock—in this respect somewhat resembling the Dolomites. Most of the adventures recounted in the first ascents of the Sierra peaks occurred on attempts to find the routes; the second and subsequent ascents rarely produced the same degree of difficulty.

Clarence King, as already mentioned, did not have the faculty of discovering the easiest routes and made a great deal of hard work out of ascents that other climbers have found comparatively easy. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that King was surrounded by conditions with which his successors did not have to deal. No one then knew just how difficult or dangerous these mountains were, and in such cases there is always a tendency to exaggerate. Moreover, King was a novice at the art of climbing and did not have the advantage of being taught by skillful climbers of long experience. For these reasons he should not be too severely criticized.

Muir was a climber of an entirely different type; possessing the highest degree of skill and the steadiest of nerves, he was able to scramble where probably few individuals would ever be able to follow. Muir climbed for the sake of pure enjoyment and for the purpose of observing the particular things that he wanted to see. Records of his

climbs were incidental to his major interests, and for that reason we can seldom tell from the published accounts of his Sierra experiences just what mountains he climbed or, when that is known, by what route or on what date. Undoubtedly he climbed many a peak upon which he was the unrecorded first visitor.

Between the time of King and Muir and the activities of the Sierra Club members, only a few names appear in the annals of Sierra mountaineering. Most of these names appear in the list of first ascents of the principal peaks given below. The narratives of first ascents since 1890 are in most cases to be found in the pages of the Sierra Club Bulletin, and many of them deserve a high place in mountaineering literature. Many other parties climbed these and other less prominent peaks, but excepting for the discovery of better routes, their records hardly belong in a history of exploration.

The following list is compiled largely from the Sierra Club Bulletin and precise references to original authorities may be traced in most instances through the list of place names to be found in the issues of 1923, 1924, and 1925. The elevations are from the United States Geological Survey maps.

FIRST RECORDED ASCENTS OF THE PRINCIPAL PEAKS OF THE SIERRA NEVADA

(INCLUDING ALL THAT EXCEED 14,000 FEET)

- Mount Whitney** (14,501): John Lucas, Charles D. Begole, A. H. Johnson, August 18, 1873.
- Mount Williamson** (14,384): William L. Hunter, C. Mulholland. About 1884.
- North Palisade** (14,254): Joseph N. Le Conte, James K. Moffitt, James S. Hutchinson. July 25, 1903.
- Mount Russell** (14,190): No record.
- Mount Sill** (14,100 approx.): Joseph N. Le Conte, James K. Moffitt, James S. Hutchinson, Robert D. Pike. July 24, 1903.
- Split Mountain (South Palisade)** (14,051): Mrs. Helen M. Le Conte, Joseph N. Le Conte, Curtis M. Lindley. July 23, 1902.
- Middle Palisade** (14,049): Francis P. Farquhar, Ansel F. Hall. August 26, 1921.
- Mount Langley** (14,042): Clarence King, Paul Pinson. July 1871.
- Mount Muir** (14,025): No record.
- Mount Tyndall** (14,025): Clarence King, Richard Cotter. July 1864.
- Mount Barnard** (14,003): C. Mulholland, William L. Hunter, John Hunter, William Hunter. September 25, 1892.
- Mount Keith** (13,990): Cornelius Beach Bradley, Joseph C. Shinn, Mrs. Jennie E. Price, Robert M. Price. July 6, 1898.
- Mount Stanford** (13,983): Bolton Coit Brown. August 1896.

- Mount Humphreys** (13,972): James S. Hutchinson, Edward C. Hutchinson. July 18, 1904.
- Mount Le Conte** (13,960): No record of complete ascent.
- Junction Peak** (13,903): Edwin B. Copeland, E. N. Henderson. August 8, 1899.
- Mount Darwin** (13,841): E. C. Andrews. (Probably the only ascent to highest point.) August 12, 1908.
- Mount Kaweah** (13,816): J. W. A. Wright, William B. Wallace, F. H. Wales. September 1881.
- Red Kaweah** (13,754): Charles W. Michael. July 1912.
- Black Kaweah** (13,752): Duncan McDuffie, Onis Imus Brown, James S. Hutchinson. August 11, 1920.
- Mount Abbot** (13,736): Joseph N. Le Conte, James S. Hutchinson, Duncan McDuffie. July 13, 1908.
- Table Mountain** (13,646): Paul Shoup and party. August 1908.
- Milestone Mountain** (13,643): William E. Colby, Robert M. Price, Francis P. Farquhar. July 14, 1912. (Possibly by George R. Davis, earlier.)
- Mount Ericsson** (13,625): Bolton Coit Brown, Mrs. Lucy Fletcher Brown. 1896.
- Tunnabora Peak** (13,593): George R. Davis. August 1905.
- University Peak** (13,588): Joseph N. Le Conte, Miss Helen M. Gompertz, Miss Belle J. Miller, Miss Estelle Miller. July 12, 1896.
- Mount Brewer** (13,577): William H. Brewer, Charles F. Hoffmann. July 2, 1864.
- Mount Goddard** (13,555): Lil A. Winchell, Louis W. Davis. September 23, 1879.
- Mount Pinchot** (13,471): George R. Davis. 1905.
- Mount Haeckel** (13,422): Walter Leroy Huber and party. July 14, 1920.
- North Guard** (13,304): David Starr Jordan. 1899.
- Mount Ritter** (13,156): John Muir. October 1872.
- Red Slate Peak** (13,152): Joseph N. Le Conte, Clarence L. Cory. June 22, 1898.
- Mount Lyell** (13,090): John Muir. 1871.
- Mount Dana** (13,050): James Dwight Whitney, William H. Brewer, Charles F. Hoffmann. June 28, 1863.
- South Guard** (12,964): Walter Leroy Huber, James Rennie, Florence C. Burrell, Inezetta Holt. July 26, 1916.
- Banner Peak** (12,957): Willard D. Johnson, John Miller. August 26, 1883.
- Mount King** (12,909): Bolton Coit Brown. 1896.
- Mount Gardner** (12,903): Joseph N. Le Conte, Bolton Coit Brown. July 1896.
- Red and White Peak** (12,840): Lincoln Hutchinson, James S. Hutchinson, Charles A. Noble. July 18, 1902.
- Mount Conness** (12,556): Clarence King, James T. Gardner. 1864.
- The Minarets (Highest)** (12,278): Charles W. Michael. September 6, 1923.
- Mount Clark** (11,506): Clarence King, James T. Gardner. July 12, 1866.
- Half Dome** (8,852): George G. Anderson. October 12, 1875.

Recent Scientific Explorations

To give an adequate account of the numerous contributions to the natural sciences that have been made in recent years would fill more than one substantial volume. Perhaps the best way to indicate the extent and importance of these researches is to enumerate a few of the more important publications of some of the more prominent individuals. The following list is not intended to be complete or comprehensive:

Andrews, E. C. (Department of Mines, New South Wales).

An Excursion to the Yosemite (California), or Studies in the Formation of Alpine Cirques, "Steps," and Valley "Treads." In *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, Vol. XLIV. 1910.

Camp, Charles Lewis (Museum of Paleontology, University of California).

Several contributions to *University of California Publications in Zoology*. 1916-1918.

Eastwood, Alice.

A Flora of the South Fork of Kings River from Millwood to the Headwaters of Bubbs Creek. *Publications of the Sierra Club*, No. 27. 1902.

Evermann, Barton Warren (Director of the Museum of the California Academy of Sciences).

The Golden Trout of the Southern High Sierras. In *Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries*, XXV, 1905. 1906.

Gilbert, Grove Karl.

Variations of Sierra Glaciers. *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 1. 1904.

Domes and Dome Structure of the High Sierra. *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America*, Vol. 15, 1904. Reprinted in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 3. 1905.

Systematic Asymmetry of Crest Lines in the High Sierra of California. *Journal of Geology*, Vol. XII. Reprinted in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 4. 1905.

Lake Ramparts. *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 4. 1908.

Grinnell, Joseph (Director of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California), and **Storer, Tracy Irwin**, (Field Naturalist of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California).

Animal Life in the Yosemite: an Account of the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Amphibians in a Cross-Section of the Sierra Nevada. Berkeley, 1924.

Life Zones, Birds, Mammals, and Reptiles and Amphibians of Yosemite National Park. In *Handbook of Yosemite National Park*, by Ansel F. Hall. 1921.

Hall, Harvey Monroe (Assistant Professor of Botany, University of California). With Carlotta Case Hall.

A Yosemite Flora. San Francisco, 1912.

Jepson, Willis Linn (Professor of Botany, University of California).

The Silva of California. *Memoirs of the University of California*, Vol. 2. 1910.

- The Trees of California. San Francisco, 1909. New edition, Berkeley, 1923.
- A Flora of California. Partly published, remainder in process of publication.
- The Giant Sequoia, and Flowers of Yosemite National Park. In Handbook of Yosemite National Park, by Ansel F. Hall. 1921.
- A Manual of the Flowering Plants of California, San Francisco, 1925.
- Johnson, Willard D.**
- The Grade Profile in Alpine Glacial Erosion. Journal of Geology, October-November, 1904. Reprinted in Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 4. 1905.
- Knopf, Adolph.**
- A Geological Reconnaissance of the Inyo Range and the Eastern Slope of the Southern Sierra Nevada, California. U. S. Geological Survey, Professional Paper 110. 1918.
- With Paul Thelen: Sketch of the Geology of Mineral King, California. University of California Publications, Bulletin of the Department of Geology, Vol. 4, No. 12. 1905.
- Lawson, Andrew C.** (Professor of Geology and Mineralogy, University of California).
- The Geomorphogeny of the Upper Kern Basin. University of California Publications, Bulletin of the Department of Geology, Vol. 3, No. 15. 1904.
- Geology of Yosemite National Park. In Handbook of Yosemite National Park, by Ansel F. Hall. 1921.
- Matthes, François E.** (U. S. Geological Survey).
- Little Studies in the Yosemite Valley. Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 4; Vol. VIII, No. 1; Vol. VIII, No. 2; Vol. IX, No. 1. 1910-1913.
- Studying the Yosemite Problem. Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 3. 1914.
- Sketch of Yosemite National Park and Account of the Origin of the Yosemite and Hetch Hetchy Valleys. 1912.
- Cockscomb Crest. Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 1. 1920.
- Merriam, C. Hart.**
- Indian Village and Camp Sites in Yosemite Valley. Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 2. 1917.
- Smiley, Frank Jason.**
- A Report upon the Boreal Flora of the Sierra Nevada of California. University of California Publications in Botany, Volume 9. 1921.
- Sudworth, George B.** (Dendrologist, U. S. Forest Service).
- Forest Trees of the Pacific Slope. 1908.
- Turner, H. W.**
- Post-Tertiary Elevation of the Sierra Nevada. Bulletin of the Geological Society of America, Vol. 13. 1903.
- The Rocks of the Sierra Nevada. In 14th Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, Part 2. 1894.
- Wright, W. H.**
- Photographs of the Sierra Nevada Mountains Taken from Mount Hamilton. Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 4. 1923.

The Future of Sierra Exploration

It is only within the past two or three years that the last of the main topographic features of the range have become mapped and described in detail, but since the publication of the Mount Goddard quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey map, the entire region of the High Sierra is spread before us in clear and legible form. With the reports of geologists and naturalists just enumerated, it may be said that the scientific exploration is well advanced. It is a far cry from the bold marches of Jedediah Smith and Joseph Walker to the flight of an airplane over the summit of Mount Whitney. Paved roads now lead through what were once impenetrable canyons, tunnels are being driven through mountains. What then remains?

It seems to me that there is yet a great unexplored field, and this lies in finding out the best uses for what has been disclosed. It is fortunate that we have not progressed far in the mutilation of the forests and canyons of this most beautiful of all mountain ranges. Some disfigurement must necessarily take place in those portions that are urgently demanded for the economic supply of a growing civilization, but before we encroach too far and sacrifice needlessly some of our most treasured possessions, it is well to weigh the merits of all such demands.

Further exploration along such lines will, I believe, convince us that the value for recreation of mind and body and for spiritual inspiration is not a subordinate one, to be recognized only after all other interests are satisfied, but is after all the supreme value of the Sierra Nevada.

FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR.

SOME SHADOWS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO STAGE

After a strenuous tussle with modern "go-getters," what is more invigorating than to let one's thoughts travel along the pathway of theatrical memory as chronicled by such able dramatic historians as John H. McCabe, Clay M. Greene, Peter Robertson, Pauline Jacobson and George E. Barnes. There is however a tinge of pathos in the knowledge that the later years of most artists and managers who catered to the theatrical palates of early San Franciscans were but scantily warmed by the sunshine of prosperity or peace of mind.

Take for example that queen of coloratura singers, Elise Biscaccianti. She was the first great musical star to visit San Francisco, her series of concerts in 1852 creating a veritable furore. And yet, less than ten years afterward she was destined to appear at the Bella Union Melodeon.

To quote from an article written a few years ago by Pauline Jacobson, the glorious Biscaccianti had ventured in 1852 into an unknown musical field that P. T. Barnum feared to risk with his Swedish nightingale, Jenny Lind, and which Kate Hayes, "The Swan of Erin," dared not hazard.

Born in Boston, Biscaccianti embodied in her the blood and culture of two worlds. Her father was an Italian, Ostinelli, distinguished for his high musical attainments, while her mother was the sister of the celebrated poetess, Miss Hewitt. From her earliest youth, her musical training was the best that the cultural New England metropolis could give, supplemented later by tuition in the great musical centers of Europe.

Biscaccianti gave her opening concert at the first American Theatre, Sansome and Halleck streets, on March 22, 1852. The following box office tariff prevailed: Boxes and stalls, \$5; dress circle and parquette, \$3; pit, \$2; gallery, \$1. That her appearance was a triumph, an extract from a newspaper of the following day bears ample testimony.

At last she came forth and the moment the ardent multitude perceived her coming down the stage, the greatest excitement was manifest. As she came forward to the footlights and bowed, round after round of applause greeted her. She smiled her thanks and bowed again. More applause. Another smile and an imploring look from her fascinating and speaking black eyes—thunders of applause—and so it continued for some minutes until the more sedate began to fear that the interchange of civilities would never end.

She had selected the recitative and aria from Donizetti's "Linda di Chamounix." As her first notes rang out clear and distinct as a bell, the enthusiastic house was hushed into profound silence. Thunders of applause, showers of bravas

and bouquets greeted the conclusion. Again she bowed her thanks and again the audience was electrified by her sweet and expressive smile.

The next day, the people went about in a daze and even the most sober-minded and judicial subscribed to the decision of the press that "the evening marked an era in the musical, social and fashionable progress of the city."

Jewels and other costly souvenirs were showered upon her and reciprocally she lent her superb voice on many occasions to worthy causes such as the Firemen's Charitable Fund to which she subscribed additionally \$100. She gave concerts in San Francisco and interior towns for nearly a year, and sailed for Lima, South America, in February 1853. A surging mob of enthusiastic admirers recruited from all walks of life was at the dock to wish her "bon voyage," vowing with the utmost vehemence that her name and genius would remain forever engraven on their hearts and memories.

But alas and alack, when Biscaccianti returned to San Francisco in 1859 after having tasted world-wide concert triumphs, disappointment and chagrin were to be her portion. During her absence the city had evolved from little more than a glorified mining camp into a prosperous metropolitan city, the bulk of whose population hadn't yet arrived when Biscaccianti left in 1853. Furthermore, Kate Hayes and Anna Bishop, emboldened by the golden box office trail which Biscaccianti had pioneered, had meanwhile hurried westward and the populace now worshipped at their musical shrines instead.

And thus Biscaccianti played to empty benches. Nor did her matrimonial bark sail on smooth waters. Leaving a husband considerably older than herself, she gave the cards of fate a fresh shuffle and took up life with her young and talented accompanist, George Evans. Whether through remorse or merely the desire to deaden the poignancy of disappointing recollection, Biscaccianti sought solace in the wine cup, and before long her habits became so unreliable that managers of the legitimate theatres would not give her employment. In 1861, she began an engagement at the Bella Union Melodeon where she remained for practically three years, sometimes accompanying the Melodeon Troupe to nearby towns. In 1861, she was performing for a few weeks at the Forrest Melodeon, Sacramento. Lotta, the Worrell Sisters and John Woodard were on the same bill.

Biscaccianti meanwhile made no effort to break away from the grip of alcoholic allurements and it was no unusual sight to see her reeling along the streets. And yet, strangely enough, the magic of her voice remained unimpaired. Unlike other talent appearing at the

Bella Union, Biscaccianti was not required to "go in" opening acts or afterpieces, merely appearing twice during the night. Even in the days of her declining prestige there was that in her voice and manner which held the fun-loving miners spellbound, and no matter how ribald their conduct might be during the remainder of the entertainment, her rendition of "Home, Sweet Home" and other soul-stirring melodies held them entranced. And as she finished, the intense silence gave way to wild salvos of tumultuous applause. In 1864, Biscaccianti shook the dust of San Francisco permanently from her feet, and beyond a report that in after years she was living in Rome all trace of her was seemingly lost.

I shall leave unto professional moralists and other fish-eyed gentry the doubtful task of rending the Bella Union limb from limb. There are many who believe that it was the most interesting variety theatre that ever existed in America. It had tradition, atmosphere, and was indeed "a house with a history"—dramatic history, which ended in tragedy. Sam Tetlow was the central figure. Born in Manchester, England, and a mechanic by trade, Tetlow arrived in San Francisco in the early fifties, and for a year or two plied his calling. But the lure of the gaming table soon claimed him and he became known as a plunger to whom only the sky—and his pocketbook—were the limit.

Becoming proprietor of the Bella Union, he converted it in the middle fifties into a melodeon. At that time it was located on Washington Street above Kearny. But in 1869, when the latter thoroughfare was widened, the house was completely rebuilt and the entrance moved to 805 Kearny Street. And although it ceased to be a variety theatre before 1900, the building stood until the fire of 1906, it being occupied during its final days by a wax works and moving picture exhibition. At no time did the house have a street entrance, admission to the theatre proper being gained either through the adjoining saloon or a long, narrow hallway.

In the entire forty years or more of its existence, the Bella Union Theatre catered always to "stag" audiences, and from a standpoint of box office expediency was compelled to give a performance in harmony with such policy. And while puritans might cavil at some of the jests and comedy "business," they could find no fault with the talent appearing there. The Bella Union substantially throughout its entire career was the cradle of genius. Lotta, Ned Harrigan, Charley Reed, James A. Herne, Harry Courtaine, John Woodard, Patti Rosa, the Vaidis Sisters, Pauline Markham, Elias Lipsis, O. B. Collins, Fred Maeder, Ross and Fenton, Harry Montague, the Duncan Sisters and Weber

and Fields, were all pupils who got much of their early training at the Bella Union "night school."

My oldest living theatrical friend, Ned Buckley, in later years proprietor of the Adelphi Theatre, 607 California Street, tells an amusing story about Ned Harrigan anent the time that Buckley was the Bella Union stage manager, a position, by the way, that he held for nine successive years. Harrigan, then a ship caulker in Vallejo, became stage struck and secured an actor's job at the Olympic, which was on the northeast corner of Clay and Kearny streets. This house was first opened in 1859 by Ferdinand Gilbert under the title of Gilbert's Melodion. Joe Murphy, Lew Rattler, Tommy Bree, and Johnny De Angelis, father of Jeff, were some of its coruscating stars.

One performance demonstrated to the Olympic stage manager that Harrigan was but a raw amateur, and in short order he found himself without an engagement. Ashamed to return to Vallejo, he was standing disconsolately in the rain, when Buckley, to whom he had previously been introduced, came along and took pity on his forlorn condition, telling him to report for work at the Bella Union. Buckley hurried to the theatre where he found Harrigan already awaiting his arrival. Buckley turned him over to the German leader of orchestra to have his voice tested. The Teuton dubiously undertook the task. He tried Harrigan's vocal qualities in every key he could coax out of his beloved instrument. Finally laying it down in disgust, he rushed over to jovial Ned and exclaimed, "It's no use, Mr. Buckley, it isn't in the fiddle."

During the palmy days of the Bella Union, Sam Tetlow purchased the property now known as Sutro Heights. Some say he proposed to conduct there a family resort in opposition to Woodward's Gardens. As a starter, however, it was a "swell palace" dedicated to devotees of chance. One of its widely heralded features was a magnificent bar, which on the opening day alone took in over \$1200. Tetlow also built on part of the estate a residence for himself and family, but according to a contemporary account in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, after his loved daughter died, the place lost all charm for him and he wanted to sell, and sell quick.

Heavy stock losses at this time were no doubt also a factor that induced this decision. Adolph Sutro got the property for what is said to have been \$30,000 less than James Lick had offered a short time before.

To further augment his misfortunes, the grip of hard times seized the town, and business at the Bella Union fell off so materially that early in 1880 his holdings were disposed of by the sheriff to

William Skeantlebury, previously associated with Ned Buckley in a basement variety theatre, at the northwest corner of Pine and Kearny streets. It was here that Jeff De Angelis in his young days was wont to dance and tumble. Shortly afterward, Tetlow was enabled to repurchase an interest in the Bella Union from Skeantlebury. The association was an unhappy one, and in July 1880, Tetlow killed his partner in the theatre, but was subsequently acquitted by a jury on the grounds of self-defense.

The trial however absorbed all his available resources, and meanwhile Patrick McAtee, a local contractor, had obtained possession of the theatre to satisfy a loan made to Tetlow, who in spite of numerous legal efforts was unable to regain possession. From that time on his star was in the descendent and for a number of years he eked out a scant living selling lottery tickets, until a paralytic stroke made him bed-ridden and his care devolved upon a young grandson, who with an energy beyond his years saved him from the almshouse. Tetlow was called to a higher realm in 1898.

JAMES MADISON.

BODIE;**THE LAST OF THE OLD-TIME MINING CAMPS**

(An Address Delivered before the California Historical Society
October 28, 1924.)

Bodie is an unforgettable memory. After more than forty years, it gives me a thrill to speak of it. I went there as a boy of fourteen in June, 1879, when the camp was in its glory, and left in 1881, before the rapid decline had fairly set in; consequently I remember only its golden days. That is the most vivid and interesting experience of my life, notwithstanding the fact that until after I reached manhood I lived in various other mining camps throughout California, Nevada, Idaho and Montana, including "The Comstock" during the "Bonanza Days" in the '70s, and Butte in the first flush of its prosperity in the early '80s.

Bodie was unique; it was the last of the old-time mining camps; the last, in type, of the pioneer days of California. There has been no later camp like it, and never can be, because the old-time Californians who gave Bodie its distinctive atmosphere and charm have nearly all gone where there is no "rainbow-chasing." You could no more have another Bodie in these times than you could have another Trojan War with the present-day Greeks as participants. The comparison of the California pioneers with Homer's heroes is not far-fetched. They had much in common.

Mining camps soon settle down and become conventionalized, in a way; that first fever of excitement and disorder passes in a few months, or at most in a year or two. Men do not live at high tension for any great length of time. The value of the mines becomes better known—disappointingly so, as a rule—and comforts and conveniences and the rule of law soon tone down the wild, primitive ways of living. That was true of the old-time California camps, and, as well, of the early days in Nevada. It was not true of Bodie.

"The Comstock"—as Virginia City is known to mining men—lived at a higher pitch for a longer period than any other camp in the west, owing to the continuous, delirious stock-gambling, which was stimulated by the discovery of successive great ore-bodies in the various mines; but "The Comstock" soon outgrew the rude conditions of 1860 and 1861. It remained a great and flourishing camp for many years, although, compared with Bodie, its life was ordered and dignified; with a railroad to serve it, a splendid water-supply, many fine buildings, palatial saloons, good hotels, excellent restaurants, comfortable homes,

a police force and fire department, churches, theatres, and the enjoyment of practically all of the conveniences, and even the luxuries, afforded by San Francisco.

In order to understand Bodie, one must consider the character of its people and the conditions under which they lived. First, the people:

The leading spirits of the town were "mining-camp men" from California and Nevada. I will digress for a few moments to describe



BODIE IN 1877.

Bodie Bluff.
Bechtel Hoisting Works.
High Peak.
McClinton Hoisting Works.

5. Standard Hoisting Works.
6. Bodie Hoisting Works.
7. Standard Mill.
8. Town of Bodie.

9. Silver Hill.
10. Queen Bee Hill.
11. Bridgeport Road.

the type. The California pioneers were eager, young adventurers from the ends of the earth, mostly Americans. Nearly all of them went to the placer mines at first, but only the optimistic, wide-ranging spirits continued to follow mining; the others settled down as farmers, merchants, artisans, and in all other walks of life. The early, shallow placers were soon exhausted, and the miners moved from camp to camp as new discoveries were reported; often leaving good "diggings" to join in the wild rush of a new excitement. Out of these conditions arose a type appropriately called "mining-camp men," which included professional men, merchants, and other mining camp followers. Their

ties to a community were not strong, even when they had families, and, when a camp began to decline, they eagerly looked about for a fresh field. These men, as a rule, were virile, enthusiastic, and free livers; bound by few of the rules of conventional society, though with an admirable code of their own: liberal-minded, generous to a fault, square-dealing, and devoid of pretense and hypocrisy. While the mining camps were not entirely composed of men of this type, it was they who gave the camps their distinctive flavor.

When the discovery of the great Comstock Lode was made at Virginia City, Nevada, in 1859, the placer mines of California were practically worked-out, and quartz-mining on a large scale had hardly begun; the mining camps, therefore, were full of great spirits, eagerly awaiting a call from somewhere. The call came from "The Comstock"—called "Washoe" at the time—and they flocked over the Sierra Nevadas by the thousand. Nevada was almost entirely peopled by Californians of this type; and a wonderful set of men they were, in energy, accomplishment, and breadth of character. They not only created the great camp of Virginia City, but spread throughout Nevada and discovered and developed many other mining districts that helped to swell the flood of gold and silver that the country so sorely needed during the Civil War.

The "old-timers" in Nevada used the word "excitement" to describe the rush to a new mining camp. They spoke of the "Washoe Excitement," the "Reese River Excitement," the "Esmeralda (Aurora) Excitement," the "White Pine Excitement" and others too numerous to mention. It always seemed to me that no other word or phrase could so well express men's feverish, reckless spirit and energy on those "stampedes."

When the camp of Bodie came into prominent notice in 1878, through the discovery of some extraordinary bodies of gold ore, "The Comstock" was on the decline, and the same was true of many other camps in the west. Again the adventurous heard the call; this time to Bodie. By the end of 1879, nearly ten thousand people had flocked in. Men came from all over Nevada, from California, and from other places in the west; all of the adventurous type, although differing widely in class and in character. The majority were of the best mining camp type, but there was also a gathering of the wildest and most desperate characters that ever infested a mining region. Besides the business and professional men, mine-operators, miners, etc., there were hundreds of saloon-keepers, hundreds of gamblers, hundreds of prostitutes, many Chinese, a considerable number of Mexicans, and an unusual number of what we used to call "Bad men"—desperate, violent characters from

everywhere, who lived by gambling, gun-fighting, stage-robbing, and other questionable means. The "Bad man from Bodie" was a current phrase of the time throughout the west. In its day, Bodie was more widely known for its lawlessness than for its riches.

Let us turn now to the conditions under which these people lived. Bodie was located in Mono County, fifteen miles east of the Sierra Nevadas, and ten miles north of Mono Lake; in a range of barren, wind-swept hills, entirely devoid of vegetation, save for the ever-present sage brush. A more uninviting region it would be difficult to imagine. The altitude at the town was 8374 feet; the mines were from five to seven hundred feet higher. The climate was severe, except for some glorious days in midsummer. In winter, cold winds and snow swept it incessantly, and in summer the dust was too often in motion. The greater part of the town was built on a flat at the foot of Bodie Bluff, and extended for perhaps half a mile up and down the flat on either side of the wide main street. Part of the town crept up the hill toward the mines. The mines were all located on the Bluff and on a lower ridge that extended southerly from it.

Bodie was discovered by a placer miner, Waterman S. Body (whose name was later corrupted to Bodie), in 1859, the year before the discovery of Aurora, which lay only twelve miles to the north.

From 1860 to 1865, Bodie shared somewhat in the frenzied "Esmeralda Excitement," of which Aurora was the center, and shared also in the depression that followed. Aurora had a spectacular career that was little more than a drunken orgie; marked by great riches, wild speculation, unbelievable extravagance, bloodshed, and sudden collapse. The rich ores in practically all the mines "played-out" within 125 feet of the surface, and the camp was done.

It is interesting to reflect that in the first Bodie excitement all of the mines that later became famous were discovered and worked in a limited way. Two mills were built and considerable gold was extracted, but the mine-workings were shallow, costs were very high (rock assaying \$50 per ton in gold did not pay to mine and mill), and the rich ore bodies of later days were not discovered.

It is also interesting to note that at that time several mining geologists, notably Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale, and Prof. Wm. P. Blake, worked out the geology of the camp and predicted for it a great future. Prof. J. D. Whitney, State Mineralogist, on the other hand, dismissed the camp with a wave of his hand.

From 1865 to 1874, some intermittent mining was done at Bodie, chiefly by hopeful prospectors. We can imagine in what low esteem the camp was held when a large quartz mill, built of brick and erected at

great expense, was sold in 1874 for \$450, unpaid taxes. This mill later became the property of the Syndicate Mining Company and was used to crush the rich ores found in the Standard and the Bodie mines in 1877 and 1878.

During this period of depression, many of the mines were abandoned and became open to location. The Bullion claim, which later became the Standard mine, was one of these. In 1874, two prospectors entered the old Bullion mine and found a rich vein that had been disclosed by the caving of some old workings. As fate would have it, the former owners of the property had mined within a few feet of this vein without discovering it. The prospectors immediately re-located the Bullion and the Bunker Hill claims and began to mine in a small way; packing the ore over the hills to Rough Creek and milling it in an arrastre. In 1876, the Cook brothers of San Francisco, who were energetic mining men, bought the mine for \$67,500, incorporated a company called the Standard Mining Company, continued development work, and built a small mill at the foot of the Bluff. The enterprise was so successful that in 1877, the first year of actual operations, the Standard took out considerably more than enough money to pay for the mine and mill and all improvements. Mining men, however, remembered the disappointments of the first Bodie excitement, years before, and paid little attention until the Bodie Mining Company, which adjoined the Standard on the south, made a phenomenally rich strike of gold and silver ore on the 300 ft. level, in the year 1878. It was so rich that the mining world was startled. Nothing like it had been found for many years. That small mine with a small mill, in August 1878, produced gold and silver bullion of the value of \$600,000. The stock jumped from 50c to \$54 a share in a few weeks. Mining men throughout the West were aflame with excitement and people began to flock into Bodie. All the prospects for miles around were located, many new mining companies were incorporated, and the mining stock exchange in San Francisco took on new life.

But the winter of 1878-1879 was a terrible one. Bodie was one hundred and ten miles from the railroad at Carson City, and all supplies of every kind had to be hauled for long distances. Until the "excitement" arose, in the summer of 1878, the camp was comparatively small and accommodations were of the poorest sort; consequently the winter found thousands of people poorly housed, poorly fed, with little employment, and with nothing to do but hang around the saloons and gamble and fight and get drunk and lie out in the snow and die. Hundreds died that winter from exposure and disease, and nearly as many lost their lives by violence. I recall a significant cartoon of the

time, showing a man trudging toward Bodie, bearing a tombstone on his back, inscribed somewhat as follows: "John Miner, born Auburn, New York, 1850. Died, Bodie, California, ———, 1879."

A Truckee newspaper of that time printed the following prayer of a little girl whose family was about to move to Bodie: "Goodbye God! We are going to Bodie." The editor of a Bodie paper rejoined that the little girl had been misquoted. That what she really said was, "Good, by God! We are going to Bodie."

Such was the common conception of the fate of those who went to that notorious camp.

However, early in the spring of 1879, great quantities of materials and supplies were rushed in; additional thousands of people came also. Fortunately, they had the summer of 1879 to prepare for the coming winter. When I reached Bodie in June 1879, the terrors of the preceding winter had been forgotten, building was going on everywhere, new mines were being opened, new hoisting works erected, new mills being built, the excitement in mining stocks was at its height, nearly everybody had a mine or mining stock that would make him rich, and the region was in a delirium of excitement and activity. Gold and silver coin was as plentiful as nickels nowadays; all of the men about town appeared to have their pockets full of money—and regally they spent it.

My own opportunities to see all that was going on were exceptional. I was the only messenger boy employed in the telegraph office at Bodie during the years of greatest excitement, 1879 and 1880. Necessarily, I went almost everywhere to deliver messages. The mines, mills, stores, offices, saloons, gambling houses and the red-light district were visited almost daily. Aside from my duty, I was an active, inquisitive youngster, that wanted to see and hear all that was going on. A fight or the prospect of one always attracted me. But my contact with that life seemed to affect my conduct very little. I neither drank nor smoked nor gambled nor frequented low places. It is gratifying to recall that none of the dissolute persons with whom I came in daily contact ever tried to lead me astray.

All of the conditions at Bodie tended to make men reckless. They were in a remote, barren, sparsely-settled country—"a land that God forgot;" practically without government, and almost without law, which made it a refuge for the lawless; with almost no conveniences of living, poor housing, limited water supply, no sanitary regulations, a harsh climate, forbidding surroundings; no warm, cheerful comfortable places to go except the saloons, the gambling-halls, the dance-houses,

and the red-light district; all leading to drink, to gambling, and to excesses of every kind.

The town was very poorly built up, and remained so; but one or two brick buildings were erected. The saloons and gambling halls and business houses, up and down the main street, were mere shacks, although sometimes very considerable in size. The boarding houses and lodging houses were of the flimsiest character and poorly heated except in the immediate vicinity of the stove; the homes of the miners and townspeople were built of rough boards, and very small, as a rule. Many people at first lived in tents and dugouts in the hillsides. Heating was difficult and inadequate; toilets were out-of-doors, reached in winter only by a trip through the snow; and the only lights were coal-oil lamps and candles. The only fuel was pine-nut wood; knotty and full of pitch and a most excellent fuel. There was no gas, no water except from wells and wagons, no coal, no hospitals, no nurses, no churches, no theatres, no entertainments of any sort except such as the people themselves devised.

The traffic in the streets was continuous and enlivening. There were trains of huge, white-topped "prairie-schooners," bringing freight from the railroad, each drawn by twenty or more horses or mules, and pulling one or two large, four-wheeled "trailers"; ore-wagons, hauling ore down the canyon to the mills; wood wagons bringing huge loads of pine-nut wood from long distances, for the mines and mills and for general use; hay wagons, lumber wagons, prospecting outfits, nondescript teams of all descriptions, spanking teams driven by mine superintendents, horses ridden by everybody, and most exciting of all, the daily stages that came tearing into town and went rushing out; the outgoing stages often carrying bars of bullion, guarded by stern, silent men, armed with sawed-off shotguns loaded with buckshot, who did not always succeed in protecting their treasure.

The streets were alive with men at all times of the day and night, except during inclement weather. A daily horse-market in the center of town was a feature, in summer, and an impromptu horse-race on the main street was not unusual.

The saloons and gambling houses all fronted on the main street and were "wide-open." Nearly everybody drank, nearly everybody gambled. Boisterous conviviality was the prevailing spirit. Altogether, the street life in Bodie was a sort of continuous motion-picture show.

As I have said, Bodie was almost without government and almost without law. If there was a town government of any kind in 1879 and 1880, I did not know of it. There were a few deputy sheriffs, appointed by the sheriff who lived at the county seat, twelve miles away; there

was also a justice of the peace; but there was practically nothing to hold in check the rough element of the town except the fear of the other fellow's gun or knife. Whiskey was the common drink—beer and wine were too insipid for those tough stomachs—and much whiskey led to quarreling and gun fighting. Killings were so frequent that the common expression of the day was, "Well, have we got a man for breakfast this morning?" Very often indeed there was more than one dead man. Fortunately, the fighting was almost entirely confined to the rough element, and, so long as they killed off one another, the better citizens did not care. Every once in a while an innocent spectator would get in the way of a bullet, but that was considered partly his own fault for being there.

Cold-blooded murders were uncommon. Most men were killed in open fights, where each side had at least some chance; the victory going to the men quickest in action and surest in aim. Of one "victim", it was said:

"He had sand in his craw,
But was slow on the draw;
So we planted him 'neath the daisies."

Just off the main street was Chinatown, which was typical, except that it was even more congested and viler than Chinatowns usually are; fronting that, and running down for a considerable distance behind the principal saloons and dance halls, was the red-light district, jocosely called "Maiden Lane," in which were gathered all types of women from all over the world. Kipling's "Fultah Fisher's Boarding House" was reenacted, with variations, many times in Bodie.

Weapons were oftener drawn than used. Most men that carry guns like to get them out on slight provocation, but they loath to use them. More than once, I have seen a whole crowd of men with their guns drawn and not a shot fired. Once in a while a man that had killed another would have a hearing before the justice of the peace, but that was as far as the matter went. Bodie had a record of hundreds of men killed by violence, but I recall only two cases of prompt and adequate punishment, in both of which the murderers were taken out of jail by mobs and "hung." One of them was a man who murdered another in cold blood over a woman; the other, the case of an opium-fiend who had been thrown out of a saloon by a bartender, and returned with a shotgun, stood in the doorway, and filled the bartender full of buckshot. Almost invariably these killings occurred at night, in the saloons and gambling halls and in the dance houses, or in the streets outside. I do not know how many men were killed in John Wagner's saloon. That was a typical mining camp saloon, somewhat larger than

any of the others. It was a barn-like room, fronting on the main street; probably 30 ft. wide, 100 ft. long, and 15 ft. high. To the left of the swinging-doors, as you entered, was the bar, stretched along the side of the room. Opposite the bar, and stretching along in similar fashion, was a chop-house, or short-order restaurant, with a long counter and stools in front. The rear of the room was literally filled with gambling-tables of one kind and another, principally faro-banks, presided over by silent, watchful dealers, with hundreds, or even thousands, of dollars in gold and silver stacked up in front of them, and a gun always within reach.

It was said that a wild, reckless, young fellow, who afterwards became a prominent man in the West, lost his arm at a faro-table, while trying to take back some money he had lost. The dealer was too quick for him, however, and promptly pinned his hand to the table with a "Bowie knife."

It is very easy for men to quarrel when drunk, and much easier to quarrel when drunk and gambling. If there is a woman in the case, so much the worse. There would be hundreds of men every night in John Wagner's saloon. When a shot was fired, the crowd would make a mad rush for the front doors. Many times John Wagner's front doors were carried bodily out into the street by these stampeded crowds, eager to escape the flying bullets.

I recall one spectacular fight between a fine young miner, who had gone somewhat wild, and a "sure-thing gambler." They had quarreled and then partly made it up when the gambler invited the miner to take a drink. As they stood side by side at the bar, the gambler drew a gun and shot the miner in the back. The miner drew his gun, and they stood holding each other by the coat and shooting until they fell to the floor. The miner died instantly; the gambler lived for some years, a physical wreck.

John Wagner himself was a stolid, sober, thrifty, experienced German saloon-keeper, who remained unperturbed during the wildest excitements. His wife, one of the best women that ever lived, was a physician, and devoted her life to ministering to the unfortunate and needy, without pay. Her home was just back of the saloon, on a short street that was the outlet of Chinatown and the red-light district—and a fearsome street it was.

While violence was the order of the day, every day, in Bodie, there were no bank robberies, no store robberies, no housebreaking, and little petty theiving. Property was safer than in San Francisco today. Men's lives were safer, too, if they kept away from the resorts known to be dangerous. Of course the bullion stages were frequently held up on

the long road to Carson City, usually resulting in the killing of one or more men, but that was expected. The highwaymen always staked their lives in the game, and men spoke of them with respect for their courage.

Easily the most striking figure in the town was that of Pat Reddy, who was the leading lawyer in Mono and Inyo counties for many years. He was a large, fine-looking, dark-haired, carefully dressed man, about forty years of age; one that you would notice anywhere, and particularly because of the absence of one arm. He was of commanding personality and great physical strength; a born fighter and leader of men. It was common talk that his early life, in the lawless days of Aurora and of Inyo County, had been a violent one. Report also said that after he lost his arm as the result of a gun-fight with robbers, his wife, who was an unusual woman, taught him to read and write and encouraged him to educate himself for the law. I recall that when I was admitted to the bar in 1890, before the Supreme Court at Carson City, the Clerk told me that Reddy failed twice in his examinations for admission to the bar, and was only admitted on the third trial. I saw a great deal of him in his office, on the streets, in the saloons, and in the court. He always treated me in the most kindly way. Outside of his office he was almost invariably accompanied by a large, quiet, grey-haired man, whom everybody spoke of as "Pat Reddy's gun-man"; in other words, his guard. Reddy was a man without fear, and we assumed that his gun-man was to overcome, if occasion required, the disadvantage of a single arm. While Reddy was a man of strong character, and a forceful lawyer, he was of a dominating, it not domineering, nature, and rode rough-shod over all that opposed him. When he went on a drunk, as he did occasionally, and proceeded from saloon to saloon accompanied by his "gun-man," ordering drinks for everybody, no one dared to cross him. In the Justice's court, which was the only court we had in Bodie, he had things all his own way. He was a most difficult man to combat under any circumstances. If he defended a man charged with crime, an acquittal was almost assured. W. A. Chalfant, the historian of Inyo County, where Reddy practiced for a number of years before coming to Bodie, says of his career:

The defender of most of the major cases was Pat Reddy, a specialist in criminal defense, an expert in jury selection, and a lawyer of ability. It was said that he was the means of freeing more than one hundred men charged with murder in this county, Mono County, and adjacent counties in Nevada.

Pat Reddy, however, was a man of warm heart, strong friendships, and with great sympathy for "the under dog." He tried many cases, giving the best there was in him, without regard to compensation.

When his clients were rich and powerful, they paid fees accordingly. Later, he removed to San Francisco, where he was for many years a leading attorney. During his lifetime he was engaged in much important litigation, particularly mining cases. His wife lived with him in Bodie; a white-haired, refined-appearing woman, who never mingled in social affairs.

The people of Bodie were extremely social, but there was no "society life." Living conditions were too hard for that. Social distinctions were lightly drawn, particularly among the men, who themselves came from every grade of society, from the highest to the lowest. Every prominent old-time mining camp contained a large number of well-educated people, both men and women. Even the small, remote places had their quota. That life seemed to hold a peculiar fascination for cultured people of the romantic type. One could always find his level in a mining camp, whatever it was.

Bret Harte and Mark Twain are shining lights among the literary men that found their inspiration in mining camps, though their descriptions are not faithful. The latter dealt in humorous exaggeration, while the former romanced. Mark Twain was a newspaper reporter on "The Comstock," where an unusual number of talented men foregathered. No other community of equal size in this country ever contained so many men of great ability in various directions, attracted there by great enterprises and great riches. "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." There was much luxurious living on "The Comstock," and social distinctions were more pronounced. Both men and women dressed exceedingly well; shiny stove-pipe hats were not uncommon. The phrases, "high-toned" and "genteel," then so often heard, are now almost forgotten.

All of the larger camps had their quota of "high toned gamblers," immortalized by Bret Harte; well-dressed, quiet, gentlemanly men who conducted faro-banks, which required considerable capital. They prided themselves on dealing "a square-game," and were patronized accordingly. The profit was in the percentage. Some of these men came of good families in the East and South, more particularly "The South." Not infrequently, they were married and had children. The men that kept "first-class saloons," so-called, often had families and were well-respected. Men were judged chiefly by their character and ability; not by the ordinary rules of conventional society. The mining camps had their own Ten Commandments, which included but few of those given to Moses.

If a "movie" were to be made of the Bodie of those days, we should be treated to the sight of crowds of red-shirted miners, with guns

in their belts and trousers stuck in their boots; with a villain represented by a heavily-armed "Bad-man," dressed in corduroy trousers, carefully encased in neat top-boots, and with hat pulled over his eyes. In addition, we should see picturesque cowboys, and most wonderfully gotten up ladies, and melodrama without end. As a matter of fact, any such picture would be a travesty on Bodie. People dressed carelessly and in conventional clothes. There was not much of the picturesque in their attire. Many men carried guns and knives, but nearly always concealed by their coats. There were plenty of men on horseback, and some beautiful and spirited horses, but the riders, as a rule, were dressed like the men on the street. Women were not conspicuous by their presence.

I recall how Bodie opened its eyes one day when a fine-looking, dark-haired, heavily-armed man came riding in, at the head of a cavalcade, dressed in a silk shirt, wearing a flaming red sash, velvet trousers, shiny top-boots, silver spurs, a great sombrero, and mounted upon a handsome, spirited horse. Evidently he thought he was coming into Bodie in conventional style. We afterwards learned that he was the keeper of a little restaurant in Carson City.

The mines were all located on Bodie Bluff and on the lower ridge that stretched southerly from it about a mile. One might compare that line of hills to the back of a buffalo, the Bluff constituting the hump and the lower ridge the backbone. These hills are largely composed of an intrusive rock called hornblende-andesite; reddish-yellow in color, on the surface, and locally known as porphyry. Gold and silver veins occurred frequently along this ridge, but more particularly on the somewhat flat top of the Bluff, where the only very profitable mines were developed. None of the twenty or more mining companies that operated along the ridge succeeded in developing valuable mines, except the Noonday. On the Bluff itself, out of hundreds of mining locations, there were only two notable mines—the Standard and the Bodie.

The camp produced altogether about \$21,000,000; of which \$14,500,000 was produced by the Standard mine, \$4,000,000 by the Bodie, \$1,000,000 by the Noonday, and \$1,500,000 by all of the other mines in the camp. It is an interesting fact that nearly all of the wealth of the Standard and the Bodie mines was found within five hundred feet from the surface, and that no ore of importance was produced below eight hundred feet. Within the comparatively small area comprising the Standard and the Bodie mines, about one hundred parallel veins were mined for ore, ranging in thickness from a twenty or thirty foot vein of quartz and clay, to seams of high-grade ore less than an inch wide. This mineralized zone, which was extensively mined to a depth

of 500 feet, was over 1000 ft. wide and over 3000 ft. long. Much of the ore, particularly that found in the Bodie mine, was extremely rich—so rich, in fact, that perhaps hundreds of thousands in gold were “high-graded” by the miners and others connected with the mine and the mill. (Like Falstaff, the miners have a distaste for the word “steal,” when applied to the abstraction of rich gold ore belonging to others, so they coined the milder term “high-grade” to express the same thought.) The richest ore from the Bodie mine did not pulverize readily in the mill, because the gold and silver would pound up into massive sheets under the stamps, and had to be shovelled out of the mortar-boxes in order that the stamps could do their duty. All of the gold in the district was heavily alloyed with silver, and was rarely worth more than \$12 per ounce. In some of the shallow placer diggings, at the south end of the ridge, the gold was worth only from \$3 to \$8 per ounce.

A kindly foreman took me down into the Bodie mine to see the “1879 bonanza”, and I shall never forget one small drift, or tunnel, that glittered on all sides with gold and silver like the treasure house of Croesus. Illustrative of the liberality of the times is the fact that hundreds of men and women were allowed to visit the Bodie mine when that rich ore was being extracted, and that the visitors were permitted, and even encouraged, to carry away valuable specimens. Visiting the Bodie mine became very popular in those days. Everybody assumed at the time that the riches of the mine were inexhaustible.

By 1881, men were beginning to realize that none of the mines in the district had proved very profitable except the Standard and the Bodie. It became evident too that the ore in those mines did not extend to any great depth. The stock market went to pieces, and the other large mining plants began to close down one after the other. After the year 1883, only four or five large mines were working, and the population was reduced to 2500. In 1887, the Standard absorbed the Bodie mine and some other adjacent properties, and operated profitably for nearly twenty years longer. For the past eighteen years, the camp has been almost deserted.

“The early collapse of many mining ventures left the hillsides strewn with monuments of reckless expenditures based on wild hopes.”

In round numbers, the camp produced \$21,000,000 in gold and silver, and paid dividends amounting to \$7,000,000. The total assessments levied by the various mining companies totaled about \$5,500,000; in addition to which perhaps \$500,000 was expended on other mines by individuals; so that the total amount of money that was paid in by the stockholders and owners nearly equaled the dividends paid. The camp

should be termed a financial success, however, because the gold and silver produced went into the channels of trade and had a very stimulating and beneficial effect throughout the Pacific Coast.

Everybody gambled in stocks, which kept the excitement of the community at a high pitch. There were over thirty large mining properties in Bodie whose stocks were dealt in every day on the San Francisco Stock Exchange. The quotations came every day by telegraph. The phrase that one heard the oftenest in Bodie was "Let's take a drink." The next most popular expression was the inquiry, "How are stocks today?" With few exceptions, those mines were failures, but in 1879-1880, it was confidently expected that every one of them would prove a "bonanza." Stocks moved up and down with startling rapidity. Men were rich today and poor tomorrow, and then rich again. Promising developments of ore were reported from one or more of these mines from day to day, causing startling variations in the prices of the stocks, and sudden changes in people's fortunes. It was a fool's paradise. Nearly everybody in Bodie, at one time or another, had a good deal of money, but almost everybody left the camp "broke" when "the bottom dropped-out."

The curse of Bodie, as it was of "The Comstock," was the stock market, which was manipulated by stock-gamblers in San Francisco for their own profit, regardless of the merits of the mines, and without thought for the thousands that found their ruin in that unholy game.

It will sometimes be said that the mining stock speculation that characterized "The Comstock" and Bodie was beneficial on the whole; that without the money contributed by stockholders in the way of assessments, many fine ore-bodies would never have been developed. That statement is wholly untrue of Bodie, where nearly six millions were spent on mining properties that did not warrant the expenditure of more than a fractional part of that sum. On the Comstock, it is true that some of the great "bonanzas" were developed with "assessment-money," but it is also true that perhaps a hundred million dollars collected from stockholders was wasted. Some of "The Comstock" ore bodies might never have been found in the course of orderly mining, but that is open to question. On the whole, mining stock gambling, as conducted in those two great camps, was both wasteful and pernicious. The effect upon the people was to unsettle their lives, encourage dissipation, discourage thrift, and leave them finally in a state of dependent old age—if they survived.

To illustrate the methods of the men who manipulated mining stocks in those days, I will recount my own experience as a purchaser of stock in the Mono mine. The Mono adjoined the Bodie, and the

hoisting works were within a stone's throw of each other. Everybody believed that the rich ore of the Bodie would extend into the Mono; the stock was purchased freely and was very active, the price being based wholly on hope. The work of developing the mine was expensive, no ore was found, and assessment after assessment was levied on the stock until over \$600,000 had been poured in by the stockholders. In 1881, when the stock was \$12 a share, the stock-manipulators decided that the rich Bodie veins did not extend into the Mono. To save themselves, the whisper was spread, "Mono has struck it." Hundreds of people who thought they alone had received this "inside information," eagerly bought the stock. My mother heard the rumor, eagerly invested her savings account of \$1500, and advised me to do likewise with the \$600 that I had saved for my education. As soon as "the insiders" had unloaded all the stock they could on the public, the shares began to fall rapidly in price; they dropped from \$12 to practically nothing in a short time. My mother and I never realized a penny from our gamble.

The sensational side of life in Bodie is the most interesting, and I have dwelt upon that, but there was another strongly contrasting life—that of the good women of the town. Most of the men that went to Bodie were single, but there were more wives and children than one would expect to find in such a place. These women, as a rule, had lived in other mining camps, and many of them, like their husbands, were of superior type. They, too, were notable for their breadth of view, warm-heartedness, sociability, and for their good works. In the midst of all that tumult and recklessness, they lived quiet, uneventful, and thoroughly good lives. It would be difficult to find a finer type than those old-time mining camp women. Not a few of them had been friends in earlier days, and conditions in Bodie threw them closer together than ever before. They devised practically all of the social entertainments of the camp. It was remarkable how much they did in the way of getting up theatrical performances, dances, suppers, Sunday School picnics, sleighing parties, and other diversions. Amusements were few and simple, and all the more enjoyed. A very close relationship grew up among those women, just as it did among the men.

One of the remarkable things about Bodie; in fact, one of the striking social features of all mining camps in the West, was the respect shown even by the worst characters to the decent women and the children. Some of the best families in town lived in the immediate neighborhood of Chinatown and the red-light district, and the women and children could not move out of their houses without passing saloons and all sorts of terrible places. Yet I do not recall ever hearing of a

respectable woman or young girl being in any manner insulted or even accosted by the hundreds of dissolute characters that were everywhere. In part, this was due to the respect that depravity pays to decency; in part, to the knowledge that sudden death would follow any other course.

Mining camp life had a very unfavorable effect upon the boys as they grew toward manhood; the example set by their elders could not have been much worse, and the doors of every kind of dissipation were wide open. The good women and the girls, on the other hand, lived their lives apart, respected and even revered. I recall with deep satisfaction the sweet, modest girls with whom I went to school in mining camps.

Nothing draws people together like hardships and a feeling of mutual dependence. Where they are forced to rely upon one another for all their pleasures, and when they are even more dependent in times of sickness and sorrow, a relationship is created such as city people never know.

Living conditions in Bodie were crude and primitive to the last degree, but, oh, the kindly human feeling, the helpfulness, the good fellowship! People were drawn together as I never have seen them anywhere else. A friend in Bodie was a friend for life.

The town was small, congested, and "wide-open"; people lived and did as they pleased, without pretense; the lives of all were open, and known to men, women and children. Everybody knew what women the different men about town were living with, and all discussed eagerly the sensational news of the day. That gossip was one of the features of the life. Yet people were generous in their judgments; liberal allowances were always made. The absence of meanness, pettiness, and narrowness was one of the striking manifestations of the mining camp spirit.

It has always seemed to me that one learned more about human nature in a mining camp in a few years than could be acquired in a city in a lifetime. There one saw the human animal in the raw; living boldly, without pretense and without shame—and yet admirable, on the whole. Taking them for all in all, their virtues outweighed their vices. Their sins were mostly against themselves; their better natures showed in their attitude toward others. Somehow, all of the people—even those without the pale of mining camp respectability—showed some admirable traits. Ordinary men became transformed in that atmosphere, taking upon themselves, for the time at least, some of the qualities of the greater spirits.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable living conditions at Bodie, people found the life full of interest and enjoyment.

A spirit of youthful enthusiasm animated everybody, such as people have when embarked on a great adventure.

All had great expectations of one kind or another—chiefly in the outcome of some mine.

Genuine good fellowship and a spirit of mutual helpfulness characterized the time; in case of need, people not only gave freely of their means, but of themselves.

People were not only liberal in their dealings, but broad and generous in their views; there was no intolerance, no littleness, no hypocrisy.

Freedom and independence were in the air; the absence of conventionalities sweetened human intercourse.

The days were filled with zest and excitement; the news of the mines, the rise and fall of stocks, and the sensations of the camp that followed one another in quick succession, kept the interest of the people always at high pitch.

People found Bodie so intensely human and interesting that, notwithstanding the hardships, and the ultimate failure of all their hopes, they always spoke of it in after years with enthusiasm.

Bodie was the great episode in the life of every one that was fortunate enough to be there in "the palmy days."

GRANT H. SMITH.

DOCUMENTARY

THE FRÉMONT EPISODE

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, pp. 45-48. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States of
America, Monterey, 27th of March 1846.

Sir.

Captain J. C. Fremont of the United States Army, arrived at this United States Consular house in Monterey on the 27th. of January 1846, being very anxious to join his party of fifty men at the second place of rendezvous without the Settlement, they having missed the first place by mistake, he remained but two days, in which time, with myself he visited the Commandant General, Prefecto, Alcalde, and Colonel Alvarado, informing them that he was surveying the nearest route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean, this information and that his men were not United States Soldiers, was also by myself officially given to the Prefecto, having obtained funds and supplies from myself, he returned to his camp, it being well known in Monterey, that he was to return when he collected his men, some fifteen or twenty days after this, Captain Fremont with his party encamped at a vacant Rancho, belonging to Captain Fisher (about ninety miles from Monterey) to recruit his men and animals, from there he proceeded towards Santa Cruz, making short journeys, on the third of March, he encamped on the Rancho of Mr. E. P. Hartnell, where he received letters from the General and Prefecto ordering him out of the Country, to obey the order without any pretext whatever, or immediate measures would be taken to compel him to do so; this not corresponding with assurance received at Monterey, it was not answered, and he gave orders to hoist the United States Flag the next morning as the only protection his men was to look to.

From the seventh to the tenth of March, they fortified their Camp with a breast work of logs, encamped on a high hill which commanded a view of the surrounding country, they could see with the use of spy glasses, the General and his troops numbering about two hundred at their Camp, in the Mission of Saint John's, preparing their cannon. On the ninth instant I sent duplicate Letters one by an American, who lost his papers, and the other by a Californian, to Captain Fremont informing him of the movements of the Californians, the Californian Courier returned to the Consulate in about

nine or ten hours, bringing a letter from Captain Fremont, having traveled sixty miles in that time, he reported being well treated by Captain Fremont and his men, and that two thousand of his Countrymen would not be sufficient to compel him to leave the country, although his party was so small, at the earnest request of the Alcalde for a translation of Captain Fremont's letter, it was given and immediately despatched to the General's at San John's, and one also to the Governor at the Pueblo de los Angeles, the General informed the Alcalde, on the night of the tenth instant, that Captain Fremont had left his encampment and that he (the General) should pursue and attack him the first opportunity, and chastize him for hoisting a foreign Flag in California; in the postscript of the same letter, the General stated that Captain Fremont had crossed a small river and was then about three miles distant from them, but the General made no preparation to follow him. On the morning of the eleventh, General Castro sent John Gilroy an Englishman long resident in this Country to make offers of arrangement to Captain Fremont, on his arrival at the Camp ground, he found Captain Fremont had left that morning with his party, the camp fires were still burning, he found in the Camp the Staff used for the Flag, tent poles (cut on the spot) some old clothes, and two old and useless pack saddles, which the Californians have magnified into munitions of War. General Castro informed his party, that he had received various messages from the Camp of Captain Fremont, threatening to exterminate the Californians, Etc. (but will hardly name his Messengers) nor did they put any confidence in it themselves, from the eleventh to the thirteenth, the natives had returned to their respective homes, to resume their customary occupations, a few people that were ordered to march from San Francisco to join the General at his Camp, returned to their homes. On the twelfth a Proclamation was put up by the General in the "Billiard" Room (not the usual place) informing the inhabitants that a band of Highwaymen "Bandoleros," under Captain Fremont of the United States Army, had come within the towns of this Department, and that he with two hundred patriots had driven them out, and sent them into the back country, some of the Officers of the two hundred Patriots (and more were expected to join them) arrived in Monterey, and reported that the cowards had run, and, that they had drove them to the Sacramento River, some added that they drove them into the "Bull Rushes" on the plains of the Sacramento, and that in their haste they had left some of their best horses behind, the horses proved to be those belonging to the Californians themselves, and had strayed into Captain Fremont's band (being an every day occurrence in California)

and in raising camp, they were turned out, and left behind, instead of the Americans being driven out of the Country, they travelled less distance for three or four days, then the natives did in returning to Monterey, moveing from four to six miles per day in order to recruit, one of the complaints made by the General was that three men when drinking, went to the house of Angel Castro (an Uncle of the General's) to purchase some beef for the Camp, and insulted his family. On the seventeenth, I personally called upon Don Angel for the truth of the story, and was informed by him (the Father himself) that he was frightened by one of the Americans insisting on his daughter drinking with him, on ordering him to leave the house, he resisted, but was put out by his own companions, he drawing a pistol while they were putting him out.

Don Angel mounted a horse and rode off to Captain Fremont's, about one mile distant, who on hearing the case came to the house immediately, called up the family to enquire into the affair, on the examination, he asked the Father what he should do with the men, he requested them to be punished, which was promised, and was told, if he would send a boy, a fine of five dollars should be sent to him (he being Alcalde) the Boy returned with ten dollars from the Camp, which settled the business, although there had been nothing of consequence transacted, yet Captain Fremont was anxious to tell the people of the Country, they should have no cause of complaint against him.

The undersigned has the honor to subscribe
himself, Your most obedient servant.

[THOMAS O. LARKIN]

To the
Hon, Secretary
of State, City of
Washington.

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy of Translation.]

Commandancia General of Upper California
Excell^t Sir

In my note of the 5th of March last, I informed the Supreme Government of the introduction of various families proceeding from the United States of the North, who came to the river Sacramento, and of the measures taken in order that they should go out of the Departm^t. in the month of May next, for not having brought the

legal passports, and of the news brought by an officer who likewise introduced himself by the same route a few days afterwards, with a party of armed people, this one announcing that after the winter there would depart from the U states, destined for this country a considerable number of individuals persecuted there on account of religious opinions; and now I have to inform Yr Excellency of the result of the conduct, observed by said officer, to which object I referred in my note of the 6th of the same month, making reference to my expedition from this point in consequence of the intimation directed to Captain D. J. C. Fremont, that he should retire beyond the limits of the Department, this having been expressly provided for in the Supreme order of the 12^t July 1844.

This officer disregarding the laws of the Republic and the respect due to the authorities of the country introduced himself among the inhabitants of the Department with a respectable force, and despising (under pretext of coming with a scientific commission from his government, the intimation referred to,) possessed himself of the heights of the mountain, near this point distant nine leagues, having replied only verbally, through the military commission which I sent to his camp, that he was resolved not to obey the order to retire, remaining at that point, prepared to resist whatsoever force might attack him.

Not being able to suffer a reply so haughty; and in accordance with the authorities of this place, all the people of the vicinity, assembled at this "Command^a. General" with a lively enthusiasm, and having organized a force of 150 men, I proceeded to the immediate vicinity of the eminence, where the said Fremont was fortified, under the American Flag which he had the boldness to display in the same place; already prepared to attack him on the night of the 10th day of the same month, the said officer availed himself of the obscurity, abandoned the fortification precipitately without doubt, as there was found in it, the following day, some iron work and other things belonging to his troop, and trying to discover the track, to know the direction which he took, it was impossible for me to do so, because of his having retired in a complete dispersion: this obliged me to remain for some days in that neighbourhood; until by some individuals who came to my camp, proceeding from the valley of Tulares, I was informed that the adventurers took the course of the rivers towards the north, through the wilderness

The wish to inform the Supreme government as soon as possible of this event, forces me to freight a vessel which sails for Acapulco direct, conveying Captain Don Andres Castillero, commissioned by the Supreme government in this Department, which individual in spite

of his feeble health, undertakes the voyage, solely for the purpose of doing a particular service to the country and in general to the nation.

The annexed letter, translated in Spanish, addressed by Captain Fremont, from the camp which he occupied to the American Consul at this port on the day referred to in this note, will be a proof of the decision of this individual to maintain his position, doubtless with the hope, that the American adventurers who are disseminated, among the population of the Department, would unite themselves to his force; but nothing of this happened, in virtue of the rapid movement which the people of the North made in consequence of my precautionary measures, alarming them in a manner capable of stifling in its cradle any such attempt, as in fact happened on the frontier of Sonora where there were indications of an attempted reunion of Americans to second the views of Captain Fremont upon which object I occupy myself with sufficient reserve to investigate the truth of such events with all proper precautions, labouring in accordance with the military Commandant of that frontier Lieut. Colonel D. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo

May it please Yr Excellcy to bring to the knowledge of His Excellcy the President of the republic, the foregoing report accepting at the same time my protestations of subordination and respect

God and liberty, Monterey Upper California April 1st. 1846

(Signed) JOSÉ CASTRO.

To His Excellcy.

The Minister of War and Marine.

[Then follows the letter of March 10, 1846, from Larkin to Frémont retranslated into English.]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, pp. 48-50. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States of America,
Monterey, 2nd, of April, 1846.

Sir.

In giving my first information to the Department respecting Captain Fremont's arrival in California, I did not anticipate such an extensive correspondence as it has now reached.

Captain Fremont was well received in this place, and to the last day we heard of him by the natives individually, who sold him provisions, and liked his presence during his encampment, thirty or forty miles from here, dispatches were received by the Commandant General, Jose Castro (a native of Monterey) from Mexico, ordering him to

drive Captain Fremont out of this Department, which order with one hundred and seventy or two hundred men present, and over one hundred more daily expected, he pretended to execute. Captain Fremont left his Camp a few hours after he received the undersigned letter of the ninth of March (not from fright of General Castro) as he had been preparing the week before to travel, 'tis supposed he has gone to Santa Barbara where an American Vessel was sent by the undersigned in February with funds and provisions for his use, from there he proceeds on his journey according to his instructions from his department in Washington. Although from the correspondence it may appear, that in the Center of a strange Country, among a whole people with real or apparent hostile intentions towards him, that Captain Fremont was in much danger, it can be beleived that he was only annoyed, whether he will visit Monterey after this unexpected affair, or not is uncertain.

The undersigned has not supposed during the whole affair, that General Castro, wished to go after Captain Fremont, and was very confident, that with all California he would not have attacked him even had he ben sure of distroying the whole party, as five times the number could have taken their place before the expected Battle, Captain Fremont received applications verbally from English and Americans to join his party, and could have mustered as many men as the natives he was carefull not to do so, although he discharged five or Six of his men but took no others in their place! on the return of General Castro he published a flaming proclamation to the Citezens, informing them that a band of "Bandoleros," (Highwaymen or Freebooters) under Captain Fremont of the United States Army, had come into this district, but with the Company of two hundred patriots he had driven them away, and exorted his Companions, and Countrymen to be always ready to repell others of the same class, this Proclamation was missing from the place where it was put up, on the third day.

The undersigned has writen to the General for a copy, to this day there has ben no answer received—duplicate Copies of Consular letters to Captain Fremont are in the hands of General Castro he haveing taken them from one of the Consular Couriers, promising to forward them as directed, those Copies he promised to return, but has not done so.

This Government are about sending a Commissioner to Mexico (as the undersigned beleives) to report the Country in danger of Revolution from the Americans, by this we understand in California (Foreigners) that some Americans (who left Captain Fremont) are joining the Indians to attack the farms, and others were about to take

possession of a Town in the upper part of the Bay of San Francisco, and that L. W. Hastings (Author of the History of California) is laying off a Town at New Helvetia for the Mormons, none of this information (in the opinion of the undersigned) can be relied upon) is to be given to the President to urge upon him the necessity of given General Castro two hundred men (he prefers not many men, nor any Mexican General) with sufficient funds to protect the Country.

As a general thing Hastings Book is very untrue and absurd, he brought a number to this country, which do his Countrymen no good, and perhaps injures them, no general English reader will read one quarter of the Book. The arrival of Captain Fremont has revived the excitement in California respecting the Emigration, and the fears of the Californians losing their Country, the undersigned believes if a flag if respectfully planted will receive the good will of much of the wealth and respectability of the Country those who live by Office and the absence of law, and some few others would faintly struggle against a change, Many Natives and Foreigners of wealth and pursuits are already calculating on the hopes, fears and expectations, from the apparent coming change now before them, from the great influx of Strangers.

In the meantime the undersigned has the pleasure of saying, that with every department of Office in this Country, he is on the best terms of Freindship as far as appearances are before him.

With the highest Respect

I am Your humble Servt

[THOMAS O. LARKIN]

Hon Secretary of State }
City of Washington }

BOOK REVIEWS

An Illustrated Flora of the Pacific States Washington, Oregon, and California. By Leroy Abrams, Ph. D. Professor of Botany, Stanford University. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Ophioglossaceae to Artistolochiaceae Ferns to Birthworts. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1923. xi + 557 pp. 1299 figures in text. Large 8°.

The present volume is the first of the three volumes of an important botanical work which aims to furnish a reference book that will be of service to everyone interested in the native plants of the Pacific States. It is on the same plan as Britton and Brown's *Illustrated Flora of the Northern United States and Canada*. It follows the New York group of botanists in regard to nomenclature and the arrangement of families. The most difficult groups of plants have been written by specialists; the ferns by William R. Maxon, the quilworts by Norma E. Pfeiffer, the grasses by A. S. Hitchcock, the sedges by N. L. Britton except *Carex*, the work of K. L. Mackenzie, the willows by C. R. Ball and the rushes with the help of F. V. Colville. It is planned to have specialists take charge of all the most difficult groups so as to hasten the complete publication as it would be impossible for one person to accomplish it all even in a long lifetime.

Every species is illustrated with remarkably clear cuts showing the habit of the plant in so far as is needed for identification as well as the details of individual flowers. The metric system has been used throughout, the equivalents being given below the Table of Contents. The descriptions are clear and concise, the range and localities are given, and whenever known, the place where first collected. Changes in names will be noticed throughout the volume due to more divisions of families and genera or to the rules of the American code of nomenclature. It is questionable whether such changes do more harm than good since they represent change without progress. They do not generally indicate new facts, and cause confusion. There is a separate index for scientific and common names, which is a nuisance, especially when the common names of Pacific Coast plants are not well established and so many have no common names.

This work should be in every public and school library on the Pacific Coast and should be owned by everyone interested in our native plants. The price [\$9.00] will make it prohibitive to many, but it is a cheap book since illustrated books are most expensive to prepare and publish.

ALICE EASTWOOD.

James Wilson Marshall, Discoverer of Gold, Sutter's Mill, Coloma, El Dorado County, California, Monday, January 24, 1848. With personal reminiscences and correspondence relating to the discovery of gold; from the manuscript of Philip Baldwin Bekeart, Chairman Historical Committee of The Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, California, September 30, 1924. Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers, Vol. I, No. 3, 1914. 97 pp. Map. Facs. Ports. Ills.

In this work, Mr. Bekeart has embodied the results of many years of research and observation. Born at Coloma and having known Marshall personally, his enthusiasm and interest in his subject have been profound and far-reaching. In addition to the presentation of some new material concerning the life of the discoverer, the author has entered his field with certain well-defined premises, and in his contention he has succeeded in maintaining them thoroughly and conclusively.

He shows the rediscovery of the first flake of gold discovered by Marshall on January 24, 1848, which in September, 1848, was deposited in the Smithsonian Institution by Capt. Joseph L. Folsom. Here for many years it had remained unnoticed and in complete oblivion. The pretensions of the Wimmers have been minutely considered. The validity of the claim made by them that their nugget was the *first gold* discovered in California has been conclusively refuted. Mr. Bekeart has not doubted the existence of the "Nugget," and that it is gold is not denied, but he does contend and has definitely demonstrated the fact that the "Wimmer Nugget" was not the "first gold" found at the time of the discovery by Marshall. The romantic story of the rediscovery of the site and location of Sutter's Mill is graphically told. This was accomplished so late as August, 1924. The historic site was permanently marked and a number of interesting objects therefrom were brought back. This work was carried out by Mr. Bekeart as representative of the Society of California Pioneers.

The author has assembled many documents, some of which heretofore have not been published. His researches have been extensive, and for further consultation and verification he has cited definitely a large number of authorities. Direct in attitude, consistent in purpose, and definite in conclusions, this monograph is an interesting and worthy contribution to the early history of California.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

Letters from California, 1846. By W. G. Tarrytown, N. Y.: (William Abbatt), 1924. The Magazine of History Extra Number 103.

These letters, thirty in number, dated at Monterey between Nov. 1 and Dec. 30, 1846, appeared originally in a supplement to the *North American*, printed in Philadelphia, April 26, 1847. This supplement was a large folio broadside containing 12½ columns of text closely printed on both sides of the sheet. In this very ephemeral form these letters naturally have remained in obscurity, and if they have not been entirely unknown during the long interval of years from that time to the present, they certainly have been in an almost complete state of oblivion. A copy of this rare broadside came into the possession of Mr. Abbatt, and he has once more brought its contents into the light, opportunely and wisely.

William Robert Garner (for as such the writer has been identified) was an Englishman who was born in London (or possibly Liverpool) in 1803. He came to California in 1824, having deserted from an English whaler at Santa Barbara. Of this earlier part of his life, details are meager and somewhat confused. In 1831, he married a daughter of Manuel Butron and through this union his descendants may truthfully and justifiably claim to be of the "first family in California." It was Manuel Butron who at the San Carlos Mission received from the commandante Rivero y Moncada, in Nov. 1775, the first grant of land made in Upper California.

Garner appears to have been quite actively engaged in various affairs of his time. For a number of years he carried on a lumber business and later kept a boarding-house at Monterey in 1847-48. He had been a lieutenant of Graham's company in the service of Governor Alvarado, and had been involved in the Graham affair, but his conduct therein has been the subject of conflicting statements. He was at one time the owner of the Mission ranch which in 1847 he sold to Thomas O. Larkin. In this same year he was appointed secretary to Alcalde Walter Colton, at Monterey. The historian, Thomas J. Farnham, had reflected somewhat severely upon the career and character of Garner and the latter brought a suit for libel which in the annals of the early litigation of California, is somewhat of a *cause célèbre*. In 1849, while on an expedition to the mines, Garner was killed by some Indians who had followed him from Monterey. A life-history of William Robert Garner would form a colorful page in the history of California.

The contents of these letters of "W. G." are picturesque and extremely interesting, for the writer was possessed of considerable education. At that time having been in California for twenty-two years, he was able to write with some degree of authority. He gives a fairly

comprehensive account of the natural resources of the territory; its industries, especially the lumber trade in which he was engaged; and the activities that might develop in the future, setting forth their advantages for the prospective immigrant. Written prior to the discovery of gold, his narrative is concerned principally with farming and trading activities, but in a rather guarded manner he intimates that prior to his ownership of the San Carlos Mission ranch, gold had been found on that property. The discoverers were Indians, but by reason of their ignorant and superstitious fears, Garner admits that he was never able to discover the source although he had made numerous efforts.

He has written entertainingly upon the life, manners and customs, social affairs, diversions and possessions (especially the horses) of the Spanish and Mexican population. There are some enlightening accounts of the relations of the Californians with the American government, and a very curious description of the clergy. The Indians also appear in the narrative, for at that time they were numerous and still warlike.

Many of these subjects of course have been made familiar by later writers of history and fiction, but it is refreshing to read these letters of 1846 as they came from the hand of the author, before the writers of Californian history had begun their voluminous disputations, and history unbiased was yet in the holy season of its youth.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850. Being a personal record kept by Chester S. Lyman Sometime Professor of Astronomy and Physics in Yale University. Edited by Frederick J. Teggart, with an Introduction by D. L. P. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924. xviii + 328 pp. Maps and 16 illustrations. 8°.

Chap. I: New York to Valparaiso; Valparaiso to Callao; Callao to Honolulu. October 1, 1845, to May 14, 1846.

Chap. II: Oahu, Maui, Hawaii, Hilo, and Kilauea; Tour through Puna. May 15 to July 15, 1846.

Chap. III: Hilo, Kilauea, Waiohinu, Kealahkekua, and Kailua. July 16 to December 10, 1846.

Chap. IV: Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. December 11, 1846, to April 25, 1847.

Chap. V: Oahu; Honolulu to San Francisco; San Francisco and Monterey; San José. April 26, 1847, to June 5, 1848.

Chap. VI: The Gold Mines, San José and San Francisco; San Francisco to New Haven. June 6, 1848, to June 20, 1850.

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Professor Lyman was connected with Yale University for thirty-two years. As a boy he was extremely precocious, having constructed

telescopes and other instruments, and calculated a table of eclipses for twelve years to come, before he was seventeen years of age. He, with three others, founded the *Yale Literary Magazine*. His broad range of learning included such a diversity of subjects as theology, mechanics, physics, geology and astronomy. He was the inventor of important astronomical instruments. His voyage around the Horn was undertaken in an effort to improve his health.

Extracts from the California portion of Lyman's journal with an introduction by Professor Teggart were published in this *Quarterly*, vol. II, no. 3, October 1923, and a sketch of Lyman's career by D. W. P., who wrote the Introduction to the present work, appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 32, 1887, pp. 116-121.

The importance of this record, as far as it pertains to California history, lies in the happy circumstance that its author, a man of brilliant intellect and exceptional education, arrived at the mines less than five months after Marshall's discovery and was one of the first to publish reliable information thereon (*American Journal of Science*, 2 series, vol. 7, 1849, pp. 290-292, 305-309.)

Of foremost interest, also, is Lyman's extended account of the Hawaiian Islands, his appreciative survey of the missionary establishments, his comments on the life of the natives and his observations on the volcanoes. He sojourned with a number of the American missionaries, officials, and business men, including S. C. Damon, Titus Coan, William P. Alexander, Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, and Mr. and Mrs. Asa Thurston. He met Governor Young and Bernice Pauahi, who later became the wife of Charles R. Bishop. He corrects some of Wilkes' unjust accusations and records some conversations which cast the suspicion that David Douglas, the botanist, did not meet his death in the manner usually supposed, but was murdered for his money and presumably thrown into the cattle-pit where his body was found. It is stated that the *Hawaiian Spectator* for 1828-9 contains an account, by Douglas, of Oregon, California and the Islands.

One of Lyman's companions on the voyage was a Mr. Thompson, the brother of Captain "Spreadeagle" Thompson of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*.

Lyman deals very little with the personalities of the many interesting people he met. His journal reflects a keenly analytical mind and an exact knowledge of the local history of the places he visited. On the voyage he read such works as Wilkes, Sheldon Dibble's *History of the Sandwich Islands*, and Stewart's *Journal*. His friendship with Chaplain Walter Colton is attested by a book of Spanish history, in my library, given to Lyman by Colton at Monterey, California, in 1847.

The Story of Rancho San Antonio, A Brief History of the East San Francisco Bay District from the Time the Shell Mounds Were Forming to the Present. By Daisy Williamson de Veer. Oakland: Published by the Author, 1924. 93 pp. Illustrations and maps. Small 8°.

Considerably more original investigation has gone into the making of this school-book than usually enters into a work of its kind. "A descendant of the Peraltas . . . gave some valuable data; other pioneers and their families supplied more, one name leading to another and to more information." A number of local landmarks were traced and photographed. Readers will be surprised to see how many of these the author has discovered.

Chapters are devoted to the Indians, the early Spaniards, the Peraltas and Estudillos, the American squatters, the stories of Alameda, Berkeley, Albany, and San Leandro.

Boundaries of the San Antonio grant as it was divided between Luis Maria Peralta's four sons are indicated on a map (p. 35). Many of the original American and foreign settlers are mentioned. The squatter troubles are briefly discussed, also the development of transportation, city-building and education.

The account of Indian life is a very general one that might apply to almost any tribe in central California. The description of Shell Mound Park with the illustrations is particularly timely in view of the recent destruction of this, one of the last monuments of prehistoric times in Oakland.

Henry Root Surveyor, Engineer and Inventor Personal History and Reminiscences with Personal Opinions on Contemporary Events 1845-1921. San Francisco: Printed for Private Circulation, 1921. 134 pp. Portrait. 8°.

Some important early railroad history of the West is recorded in these recollections of Henry Root, who was closely associated with the building of the Central Pacific over the mountains and into Nevada, with the laying out of the terminals of the Central and Southern Pacific in the Bay district and with the development of the Cable Railroads of San Francisco.

Mr. Root kept a diary of his experiences as surveyor for the Central Pacific in 1866 and his detailed account of construction work on this line is based in part on this record.

There are numerous side-lights on the methods of such great organizers of western industry as Charles Crocker, Governor Stanford, Mark Hopkins and the Huntingtons, with all of whom the author claims acquaintanceship.

A chapter is devoted to experiences in and after the great earth-

quake and fire. Another contains some well considered remarks on the desirability of acquiring Lower California.

The Last of the Mill Creeks and Early Life in Northern California, By Sim Moak. Chico, Calif.: Privately Published by the Author, 1923. 47 pp., 2 pls., including a painting by Jake Moak. Cover design probably by the same artist. 8°.

Sequestered in the rocky canyon of Deer Creek at the base of Lassen Peak there lived until a short time ago a few survivors of the Yahi, a tribe that probably enjoyed the pathetic distinction of being the last wild Indians left within the borders of the United States. This remnant held themselves in such hermit-like seclusion, through fear of the whites, that for forty years they were seen only at the longest intervals. Their village, hidden away in an impenetrable thicket, was not known until it was stumbled upon in November, 1908. The poor savages then ran away, their property was thoughtlessly stolen, and except for a lone survivor nothing more has been heard of them.

In the fifties and sixties the "Mill Creeks" were a constant terror to the settlers of Tehama County. They had been aroused through mistreatment and a campaign of extermination was waged against them. They have now paid the final debt. The last of their race, that mild-mannered son of the wilderness, Ishi, passed to his reward March 25, 1916, in San Francisco.

The history of all this is written in the pioneer annals of Butte and Tehama, in Sheriff "Bob" Anderson's *Fighting the Mill Creeks*, in Mrs. A. T. Carson's *Captured by the Mill Creeks*, in the publications of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, in the local newspapers, and finally in Sim Moak's lively tales. The last gives no favorable account of the Mill Creeks but his remembrance of them seems to be philosophically untinged by hatred.

Sim Moak, now 79 years of age, still lives near Chico. His brother, Jake, aged 89, is also there. Sim came to Oroville, by the Nicaragua route in 1863, and participated in many of the events he describes. He knew General Bidwell, Senator Stanford, Hi Good, Bob Anderson, Sandy Young and the famous Sam Neal, and tells of them most interestingly. His anecdotes are flavored with the spirit of early days and spiced with a quaintly naïve, pioneer humor which tends to give a softening touch to his grim and hair-raising succession of massacres, murders, captivities, hold-ups and depredations. He will not let us forget that all this tragedy was part and parcel in the winning of the land and that society as we know it has been born and preserved in cruelty, anguish and the shedding of blood.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Mr. Charles A. Murdock delivered an address on "The Real Bret Harte" before the members of the California Historical Society at their meeting in the Hotel St. Francis on Tuesday, January 20.

Mr. Murdock said that while living in Uniontown, Humboldt County, he met Bret Harte, who was employed there by a newspaper owner as a printer and assistant editor. He recounted several anecdotes of Harte and put the quietus on the story that he was a shotgun messenger on the Wells Fargo stages said to have been running from Eureka County to the northern mines near Mount Shasta.

"That was an impossibility," said he, "because there were no wagon roads to the mines, and no stages to run on them."

Mr. Murdock subsequently moved to San Francisco, where he renewed his friendly relations with Harte, who had preceded him, and there they continued their friendship during the prosperous years of the *Overland Monthly* and until Harte left California.

He very graciously commented on Harte's charming qualities as a man, companion, and friend.

Ina Coolbrith, the poet laureate of California, who was a writer for the *Overland* at the same time as Harte, and was one of the trinity of whom the third member was Stoddard, referred to the author of *The Luck of Roaring Camp* during the first part of her talk as "Frank." At the end she exclaimed, "I knew Bret Harte. He was a true friend, a man of genius, a gentlemen—without fear and without reproach."

Enthusiastic applause was showered on both speakers, and the large audience present manifested its appreciation by unanimous votes of thanks.

The annual meeting of the California Historical Society was held, pursuant to notice, in the rooms of the Society, 508 Wells Fargo Building, on the 23d day of January, 1924, at the hour of 2:00 p. m. Vice President Robert E. Cowan in the chair. Nineteen members of the Society being in attendance, the president of the meeting announced that a quorum was present.

The minutes of the annual meeting of January 25, 1924, were read and approved.

Thereupon the president announced that the election of directors for the ensuing year was in order; and thereupon the president announced the list of directors as proposed by the nominating committee,

and there being no further nominations, on motion of Mr. Wells Drury it was unanimously voted that election by ballot be dispensed with and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the following gentlemen as directors of the Society for the ensuing year:

Anson S. Blake	C. Templeton Crocker	T. W. Hubbard
Charles L. Camp	Boutwell Dunlap	C. O. G. Miller
Robert E. Cowan	E. S. Heller	E. J. Molera
D. Q. Troy		Henry R. Wagner

Thereupon the Secretary cast the ballot and the president then declared the said gentlemen duly elected directors of the Society for the ensuing year.

Thereupon the president called for the reports of the officers.

Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Second Vice President, in the absence of President Crocker, rendered a verbal report.

Thereupon the Secretary and Treasurer presented his report for the past year as follows:

MEMBERSHIP

Members at end of year 1923.....	184
Elected 1924 (Patron 1, Active 70).....	71
	<hr/>
	255
Resigned	6
Dropped for non-payment of dues.....	2
Deaths	3
	<hr/>
	11
	<hr/>
Total membership Dec. 31, 1924 -	244
Net gain	60

One patron member during the year transferred from patron to active membership, but the addition of one new patron member (Mrs. Mary Young Moore of Los Angeles) and the transfer of two from active to patron membership (Mr. Anson S. Blake of Berkeley and Mr. Robert E. Cowan of San Francisco) brought the number of patron members up to twenty-five. At the end of the year three patron members and one active member had not paid their dues for the year 1924, but since then the subscription of one of the patron members has been received.

MEETINGS

During the year the Society held an annual business meeting and ten other luncheon meetings; the directors also held ten meetings.

The subjects and speakers at the luncheon meetings were as follows:

January 14: "Peninsula Explorations," Monsignor Joseph M. Gleason.

February 18: "The Bibliography of California," Mr. Robert E. Cowan.

March 25: "Portsmouth Square," Mrs. Helen Throop Purdy.

April 22: "Drake's Voyage around the World," Mr. Henry R. Wagner.

May 20: "Outdoor Moods of John Muir," Dr. William Frederic Badè.

June 26: "Santa Clara in the Past," Rev. George Fox, S. J.

August 26: "Early Mining Days in Sierra County," Mr. Lewis F. Byington.

September 23: "The Old Spanish Californian Families," Mr. George Haviland Barron.

October 28: "Bodie in 1879," Mr. Grant H. Smith.

November 25: "The First Transcontinental Railroad," Mr. Charles B. Turrill.

GIFTS AND LOANS

For gifts and loans of various books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, etc., (aside from the material exhibited at the Bohemian Club) the Society is indebted to Mr. Anson S. Blake, Prof. Henry Meade Bland, Mr. E. A. Brininstool, Mrs. E. H. Clark, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, Mr. C. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Wells Drury, Mr. E. L. Furlong, Mr. Theodore Gray, Mr. Emanuel Hertz, Mr. T. W. Hubbard, Hon. Grant Jackson, Miss Sarah Louise Kimball, Mr. C. F. Lacey, Miss Elizabeth Latham, Mr. William C. Latham, Mr. F. A. Thomas, Mr. D. L. Thornbury, Mr. H. R. Wagner, Mrs. M. A. Wills, Mr. H. F. Wilson, and the University of California. The Society has also received monetary gifts from two of its members amounting to \$305.00; and the expense of publishing the December Quarterly was borne by Mr. Henry R. Wagner.

FINANCIAL

Cash on hand December 31, 1923..... \$264.81

Receipts during 1924:

Dues of Patron Members for 1924.....	\$2200.00	
Dues of Patron Member for 1923.....	100.00	
Dues of Active Members for 1924.....	2056.00	
Advance Dues of Active Members for 1925....	100.00	
Gifts	305.00	
Sale of Separate Publications.....	122.00	
Sale of Extra Copies of Quarterly.....	266.00	
Miscellaneous	2.57	5151.57
		<hr/>
		\$5416.38

Disbursements:

Rent	\$ 960.00
Telephone	68.73
Salary	1335.00
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	100.41
Furniture	26.50
Printing Quarterly	1599.40
Reprints from Quarterly.....	99.50
Printing Circulars, Notices, etc.....	304.90
Other Advertising	6.00
Typewriter Repairs and Accessories.....	14.20
Taxes	5.21
Exhibit at Bohemian Club.....	298.69
Luncheon Meetings	23.00
Miscellaneous	147.24
	<hr/>
	\$4988.78

On hand December 31, 1924..... 427.60

\$5416.38

Although the figures given show the sum of \$122.00 for the sale of separate publications, \$37.00 is due Mr. Crocker for the copies of the Hollingsworth Journal sold during the year, as the cost of printing was advanced by him to be repaid upon their sale. The \$500.00 loan also still remains unpaid.

Respectfully submitted,

T. W. HUBBARD,
Secretary and Treasurer.

Thereupon Mr. H. R. Wagner, Chairman of the Publication Committee, presented the following report:

To the Members of the California Historical Society:

I shall take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the hearty co-operation which all the members of this committee have given during the present year, and to Miss Dorothy Huggins for her labors in carrying out the work of the committee.

No publications have been issued during the year except the Quarterly and reprints therefrom. As the members will see by a note printed in the number issued in December, the dates of publication have been changed, so that hereafter the Quarterly will be published in March, June, September and December.

Pursuant to the plan adopted at the start, three of the articles which have appeared in the Quarterly have been issued in separate form namely, the McKeeby Memoirs, "Portsmouth Square," and the list of California Bibliographies.

Although there has been a fairly liberal response on the part of members to the requests of the committee for original articles for publication, yet there must be a number of our members who have not volunteered their assistance and yet are perfectly capable of contributing articles of value to the Quarterly. We again wish to urge more co-operation in this respect.

HENRY R. WAGNER,
Chairman of Publication Committee.

Thereupon Mr. Fred M. DeWitt as Chairman of the Exhibit Committee presented his report, which was in brief as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the California Historical Society:

In pursuance to your suggestion that an exhibit be held by the California Historical Society for the purpose of keeping alive the interest in the purpose and object of our work, your committee decided that a loan exhibit, consisting of maps, views, prints, manuscripts and books relating to the history of California, should be held during the week of October 13-18, 1924. The exhibit was held at the Bohemian Club, and during that week was open daily from one until five o'clock, except on Wednesday and Saturday, when it was open from one until ten o'clock.

On the walls were hung 415 maps, views, prints, portraits and blue paper lithographic letter heads of scenery and views of the early mining districts, etc. Noticeable in this section were the collections of Mr. C. Templeton Crocker, Mr. John S. Drum, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mr. Boutwell Dunlap, Mr. Albert S. Bender, Mr. C. O. G. Miller, Mr. and

Mrs. Laurance I. Scott, Mr. George A. Pope, Mr. Charles S. Cushing, Mr. Charles L. Camp, Senator James D. Phelan, Mr. T. W. Norris, Stanford University, Monterey County Free Library, Oakland Public Library and others. In connection with this section were two outstanding exhibits, that of Mr. H. R. Wagner, representative of the development of the cartography of California, and that of Dr. W. J. Haber—a collection of blue paper letter heads.

In the sixteen cases were 751 items displayed, consisting of books, prints, manuscripts, photographs, documents, and newspapers, all of which pertained to the several periods of California's history. Notable were the collections of books of Mr. John L. Hitchcock, Mr. C. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Mr. H. R. Wagner, Dr. George D. Lyman, Mr. and Miss Latham, Mr. Charles L. Camp, Mr. D. Q. Troy, and others, as well as a complete collection of the publications of the California Historical Society since its beginning. Judge Grant Jackson's and Mr. Charles B. Turrill's collections of photographs were very extensive and interesting. Many early newspapers were also shown, the most valuable being the complete file of the first volume of the "Californian," of Mr. Harold C. Holmes, and a complete file of "The Prospector" and its successor, "The Times," lent by Mr. F. M. DeWitt.

The display of early manuscripts and documents attracted considerable attention, as did the manuscript copies of the writings of Bret Harte, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce and George Sterling, lent by Mills College.

Then there was a case of early business papers and other material pertaining to Marysville, belonging to Mr. and Miss Latham, and many other exhibits too numerous to list.

Of all the material lent for this exhibit, we take pleasure in reporting that nothing was lost or destroyed, and that every item was returned to its rightful owner.

A list of the exhibitors follows:

MEMBERS

Albert M. Bender	Boutwell Dunlap
Anson S. Blake	Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles L. Camp	Alfred I. Esberg
C. Templeton Crocker	John B. Farish
Charles S. Cushing	Francis P. Farquhar
Fred M. DeWitt	Dr. Wm. J. Haber
Harry E. Dore	Mrs. O. A. Hale
John S. Drum	John L. Hitchcock

Harold C. Holmes	Oakland Free Library
John Howell	Senator James D. Phelan
Judge Grant Jackson	George A. Pope
Miss Elizabeth W. Latham	Mrs. W. E. Purdy
Wm. C. Latham	Mr. and Mrs. L. I. Scott
Dr. George D. Lyman	Frederic R. Sherman
C. O. G. Miller	Stanford University Library
Mills College	D. Q. Troy
E. J. Molera	Charles B. Turrill
Monterey Co. Free Library	University of Santa Clara
Thomas W. Norris	Henry R. Wagner
Miss Lottie G. Woods	

NON-MEMBERS

Mrs. Gertrude Atherton	James Madison
Mrs. Alice M. Dresel	Mrs. Z. G. Radcliffe
Mrs. F. E. Greene	Charles G. Yale

Very truly yours,

FRED M. DEWITT,

Chairman of the Exhibit Committee.

Thereupon Mr. Wells Drury, as Committee on Publicity, presented the following report:

To the California Historical Society:

The undersigned having been appointed Committee on Press and Publicity, submits the following report:

1. Advance notices have been sent to the press announcing addresses and meetings. After said meetings brief reports have been supplied to the press by this committee.

2. Full description was given of the loan exhibit of maps, views, prints, manuscripts and books relating to the history of California, held in the rooms of the Bohemian Club, October 13-19, 1924. Such descriptions were published before and after the exhibit.

3. The exhibit of Bret Harte material, held in the rooms of the Society, January 19-24, called for several articles by this committee. These articles were published in whole or in part by a great number of newspapers. Items written by reporters of several journals, in addition to your committee articles, were also published.

4. The Grizzly Bear Magazine, which is the official organ of the Native Sons of the Golden West and the Native Daughters of the Golden West, has accepted and published reports of all our proceedings.

Mr. Harry Noyes Pratt, editor of the *Overland Monthly* has offered us the privilege of using his pages for promotion of this society's activities.

5. I respectfully recommend that an expression of appreciation be transmitted to the newspapers for their many courtesies.

Respectfully,

WELLS DRURY,
Committee on Press and Publicity.

Thereupon, on motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the foregoing reports be spread in full upon the minutes; and thereupon it was voted that synopses of the reports of the Publication Committee, Exhibit Committee and Publicity Committee be published in the next issue of the *Quarterly*; and thereupon it was moved that the report of the Secretary and Treasurer be published in full in the coming issue of the *Quarterly*.

Thereupon Mr. Wells Drury offered the following resolution, and by unanimous vote it was

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation of the courteous consideration extended by *The Examiner*, *Chronicle*, *Call* and *Post*, *Illustrated Daily Herald*, *Daily News*, *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, *Courier*, *Tribune*, *Post-Enquirer*, *Overland Monthly*, *Sunset Magazine*, and *Grizzly Bear Magazine*, to this Society and its officers and members.

By publication of reports of our proceedings the said publications have aided us in carrying out our purpose expressed in our Constitution, namely, "to collect, preserve and diffuse information relative to the history of California."

We offer the said publications our thanks for this helpful recognition of the work which we are endeavoring to perform on behalf of the permanent welfare of our commonwealth.

Thereupon Mr. Dunlap moved that a vote of thanks be extended to the Publicity Committee, and the same being accepted, it was unanimously voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to the Publicity Committee.

Thereupon it was unanimously voted that a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. Wagner for furnishing the material and bearing the expense for the December number of the *Quarterly*; and thereupon it was unanimously voted that a vote of thanks be extended to the Exhibit Committee and to Mr. F. M. DeWitt, the chairman thereof.

Thereupon Mr. Drury moved that all of the acts of the Board of Directors for the past year be ratified and confirmed, and the motion being duly seconded it was so ordered.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.